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IN 'FRISCO'S HORROR

AN S. L. P. SURVIVOR'S VIVID PICTURE OF THE EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE.

Camped on Twin Peaks, Fred Sibert Notes the Earth's Tremors and Describes the Awful Roar of the Flames As They Devour the City—Authorities Loose Their Heads, Dynamite Single Buildings, Instead of Blocks, and Allow Provisions to Burn that Could Be Saved; Sacrificing Thousands of Lives and Millions of Wealth to A Short-sighted Respect for Private Property—Dante's Inferno Feeble In Comparison to the Grand and Inspiring, Yet Terrible Disaster.

The thrilling letter printed below, was sent from Fruitvale, Cal., under postmark of April 20. As appears on its face, it was written at various intervals, in San Francisco, during the earthquake and fire that overwhelmed the city by the Golden Gate. The writer, Fred Sibert, is a member of Section 3 San Francisco, Socialist Labor Party.

Wednesday—San Francisco, Cal., or what's left of it.

We are now camped on Twin Peaks, two hill tops overlooking San Francisco; we, Mr. A. Andrews and wife and myself, wife and two children, Dick and Harry, victims of the earthquake and fire. It is a grand and inspiring sight, yet so tragic in results. Words cannot express the pent-up feeling which is in the breast of those who have attained a safe place on the surrounding hills. South of Market street, in the proletarian districts, the fire is raging fiercely, eating without mercy the remaining shacks which have not already been devoured.

Panic and despair reign supreme. No one knows what to do. We now go into the fire center as far as possible. Houses, factories, all, are either torn down by earthquakes or are afire. A fierce west wind has started, but will it save the city? Fires have broken out in the Western Addition and North Beach, which means further destruction. This is awful. The roar of the flames can be heard for miles. It seems now that not a house will be left standing. Explosion follows explosion in rapid succession. St. Ignace Church is on fire. The Call building is gutted; the City Hall wrecked.

From our place of observation we see the fire starting in the west. Thousands of people are homeless, with starvation staring them in the face. All our possessions are on our backs, except \$5 and a watch. The vandals have already started their ghastly work; it was reported that one was shot dead. A water famine threatens, as the mains have broken and flooded the sewers. The fire department is helpless. The authorities are helpless.

I have met some merchant acquaintances who say that they are paupers, as all the banks and insurance companies cannot pay one cent of their liabilities. What will we do for water? 200,000 people homeless, without a cent. Well-to-do bourgeois yesterday; tramps to-day.

The congested part of the city is a mass of ruins. Another earthquake just shook the whole mountain-top where I am writing this. The over-lords of creation have vomited in their automobiles. One of them ran over a poor slave, and started again, as if nothing had happened. I stopped him and demanded his name. He pretended he could not hear. "Damn you, tell me your name or out you go!" His name is Dishner, No. 6. Cal. His victim is Drost. They want to be on their guard. Riots are threatened, if they come—look out for a hungry mob! Lotta's fountain won't be a mark to it.

Another earthquake! The first started at 5.15 and continued for about 4 minutes; but it was the worst ever known in San Francisco. Not a building escaped. My tenement was 22 Summer street, and when the family were dressed we went to Howard, one-half block away, and took refuge on a vacant lot. Thousands of undressed women, children and men were congregated on the lot at Howard street. One old man had nothing on but an undershirt. That is a Jewish neighborhood and they sat around on the quilt and blankets, Persian fashion. One woman had a new born baby in her arms; another was leading

a blind man. All were more or less hysterical.

When the gloom cleared up, it could be seen that the whole block between 6th and 7th, on the north side, was down. A fire broke out. We went back to 22 Summer street to gather extra clothes for our family. Another violent earthquake, which made us get a move on. We packed up what we could in a blanket, and started towards the hills; people meeting us, and, not knowing that 4 or 5 blocks were on fire, and the fire department helpless, laughed. But when the flames began to spread, their laugh was turned to hysteria.

What will become of Frisco? At least 500 have met their doom, and the damage to property already reaches to at least \$200,000,000 and ever increasing.

Mechanic's Pavilion is on fire. It is a grand sight! It has a seating capacity of 15,000. Not a building left on Market street. I have been told that all the business blocks south of City Hall, have gone. The explosions follow one another in rapid succession—the greatest disaster of modern times.

I am now writing, 8 p. m., by the light of the conflagration, in a kind lady's house, on the hill side; the whole burning city is plainly visible from my window. The fire has spread from right to left and 300,000 people will be without shelter when the fire has exhausted itself. The women and children are asleep on the floor, and this is my watch. Where will these people of 'Frisco, so generous, when misfortune befalls others, get succor? This is surely a visitation from hell! Dante's Inferno but feebly describes the horrors which are witnessed on every hand.

Women and children, some sick, others frantic, are about to make an attempt to sleep on the hill.

I met two men who were not drunk but were cracking jokes with as light a heart as if this terrible calamity was a farce. Mechanic's Pavilion was being used as an emergency hospital when it caught fire. Over 1,000 wounded had to be hustled out to any old place.

The authorities are crazy; they dynamite every building on fire instead of blowing up two or three blocks away from the fire line. This frantic way of doing things makes the fire fiercer.

We are still troubled with shocks, and a great many of them. There will be a famine to-morrow; while they have allowed enough provisions to burn to satisfy what is left of 'Frisco for a month. But the same as they refuse to blow up a few blocks which are sure to burn in the next hour or two, just so with the provisions. Private property must be respected; although thousands perish, along with this precious private property!

This is terrible—a whole city wiped from the map!

How is this vast multitude to get transportation? Most all seem to be as near broke as myself.

Nob Hill is the only part that has not yet been touched. In some places the people would not leave until the police drove them out; they so hated to leave the place they called home, that it was heart-rending.

I can see, in spite of the smoke, the Call building and City Hall, over two miles away; that is, their skeletons.

All kinds of wild rumors come from Oakland, San Jose and Los Angeles, but we can get no information that is reliable. I saw a leaflet printed on one side to-day, but it contained nothing new. 'Frisco is utterly doomed, and if it is ever rebuilt it will be years, stretching out into the 20's or 30's. In all history, never has such a conflagration been recorded; not even the burning of Rome by Nero. Nob Hill is now in flames, and the bourgeois are crazy.

We left our mountain top to make an attempt to reach Oakland. We tramped through the aristocratic quarter, but no one asked whether we had had coffee. They were standing at their doors, well groomed and laughing at our bedraggled appearance. We have made a circuit of the fire and reached the ferries. Thousands of people are coming and going, they know not where. Those who laughed at us—the last laugh has turned to tears. The aristocratic part is on fire now.

At last we fought our way on board the ferry, and landed in Oakland, where we met a kind friend and comrade, who offers to take two of us. We learn that the Berkeley Relief Committee has disbursed thousands of cans of food. Just met Comrade Anthony, at whose place we have found refuge. We have found shelter and are about to retire with the

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TO HELLING THE CONSTITUTION

With the citations, dates and localities, it has been shown in these columns that the Supreme Court of the State of Colorado sent the Constitution of the United States to hell. It did so by pronouncing its decisions supreme above the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. It has also been shown, that, encouraged by such lawlessness, Lieut. McClelland of the State of Colorado put into words the spirit of the decision of the Court of his State, and plump and plain declared: "To hell with the Constitution!" It now turns out that the Governors of the various States have gone a step, several steps further. Over the signatures of J. C. Williams, Acting President of the Western Federation of Miners, and James Kirwan, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, the fact is now made public that in a letter, written by Gov. McDonald of Colorado to J. C. Lamb, Dryden, Mich., the Governor makes this statement:

"There are United States laws governing this matter, but, aside from this, the governors of the various States, at a convention held several years ago, adopted rules which are much more stringent than the United States laws, and which are followed by most of the governors, and this State is particular that these rules be followed in all their details."

What does this mean?

The Constitution of the United States, Clause 2, Sec. 2, Art. IV., expressly provides that extradition papers shall be honored only in the event that the person whose extradition is demanded shall have fled from the State in which the alleged crime was committed. The U. S. Revised Statutes, Sec. 5278, obedient to the Constitutional requirement, enacts the procedure to be observed; they require that the requisition papers issue only against persons who have fled from

the State that makes the requisition. Finally, the U. S. Court decisions, emphasize the point. In People vs. Hyatt, 188 U. S. 691 the language is explicit: "We have found no case wherein it has been held that THE STATUTE COVERED A CASE WHERE THE PARTY WAS NOT IN THE STATE AT THE TIME WHEN THE ACT IS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN COMMITTED. We think the plain meaning of the act requires such presence, and it was not intended to include as a fugitive from the justice of the State one who had not been in the State at the time when, if ever, the offense was committed, and who had not, therefore, IN FACT FLED THEREFROM."

This explicit language throughout notwithstanding; notwithstanding the fact that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were not in the State of Idaho, the former not for three months before, the second not for a year, and the third not for five years; and notwithstanding the obvious fact that all the three had been in Denver, hundreds of miles from Idaho at the time of the commission of the crime, and, consequently, could not be "fugitives from justice"—all this notwithstanding, Gov. McDonald surrendered the men upon demand from Idaho, giving as his justification that, ALTHOUGH there are United States laws governing the matter, "THE GOVERNORS OF THE VARIOUS STATES, AT A CONVENTION HELD SEVERAL YEARS AGO, ADOPTED RULES WHICH ARE MUCH MORE STRINGENT THAN THE UNITED STATES LAW," etc.!!!

What does this mean? We ask again. It means that the "Governors of the various States," who held the said convention, constituted themselves a Legislature and Judiciary, that sets itself above Congress, above the Supreme Court of the United States, above the Constitution!

It means that these Governors have amended the Constitution in manner and

in method that is forbidden!

It means that these Governors have sent the Constitution to hell, and have established Anarchy, and that the Governors of Colorado and Idaho have put the privately-adopted rule of Anarchy defiantly into practice!

The question that, in face of these facts, the felons who are running Colorado and Idaho now put is—"Would you want to see criminals escape?" This question is a begging of the question, it is a felonious squirm to justify a second felony by implying crime where it is known there is none.

For one thing, if the kidnapped men were really accessories to the crime, they could be reached without lawlessness; they could be punished for their crime without, in doing so, committing the greater crime of throwing society off its hinges; they could have been indicted, tried and convicted legally in the State in which the alleged criminal acts were perpetrated.

For another thing, officials who are capable of meeting "in conventions," abrogate the statute of the land, reverse the decisions of the supreme tribunals, send the Constitution to hell, and then, in defiance of law and order, enforce their own private, illegal and felonious "rules"—such officials are the last ones from whom to expect an "impartial trial"; such officials are convicted before hand of being law-breakers, more dangerous, and guilty of greater crime than the crime for which they pretend to prosecute the kidnapped men.

One thing stands out clear as a pike—but for the thundering protest raised by the Working Class against the lawless conduct of Idaho-Colorado officialdom, the revelations that they are forced to make would never have been made, and the innocent men who were kidnapped would be dead to-day, whereas, every day now renders surer their safety and the doom of the McKinney-Mine Owners' Association collection of brigands.

CIVIL LIBERTY DEAD

COLORADO CITY WORKMEN WANT THEIR CLASS TO AWAKEN TO THE FACT.

Adopt Resolutions At Moyer-Haywood Protest Meeting Setting Forth the Facts Substantiating Their Statement—Also Point Out the Way to Freedom.

(Special Correspondence.)

Colorado City, Colo., April 16.—The following resolution was passed at a public meeting held in Colorado Springs yesterday by a standing vote in a crowded hall. The principal speaker was Robert S. Clark, of Toledo, Ohio. We had a good collection for the defense fund.

Whereas, The treatment meted out to the laboring people in the Idaho Bullpen is not yet forgotten by the public; and

Whereas, The still later treatment meted out to the working people of Colorado is still fresh in the minds of all lovers of liberty; and

Whereas, We all remember how Governor Peabody hired the State militia to the Mine Owners' Association to terrorize the mining districts of Colorado; and

Whereas, We all remember how the people of the terrorized districts appealed for protection to every known authority from President Roosevelt down to Justices of the Peace, only to get an answer by the Supreme Court of the State of Colorado, that working people have no right that the capitalists are bound to respect; and

Whereas, The Mine Owners, acting on the suggestions of the Supreme Court ordered the militia to tear families asunder, killing some and sending some 200 men into exile; and

Whereas, None of us have yet forgotten that the Supreme Court acted upon their own suggestion and by their own actions proved that they meant that the people had no right that the capitalists should respect, so the Supreme Court proceeded to disfranchise the people by setting aside the majority vote and nominated the choice of the people for Governor and put a man in the chair that the not even nominated for the office

and then fine men for contempt of court for telling the truth about it; and

Whereas, We have seen the last crowning act of the Governor of Idaho and the so-called Governor of Colorado, conspiring together with some of the most notorious outlaws in the country and in the dead hour of night kidnapping three citizens of Denver, to wit: Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and spiriting them into Idaho and turning them over to the tender mercy of one of the most unprincipled creatures to torture them to death by inches; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the working people of Colorado Springs that we appeal to the common people of the United States to arouse themselves to the fact that civil liberty is a thing of the past for working people; and, be it further

Resolved, That we do all in our power to enroll the people under the banner of Socialism and thereby free themselves from capitalist oppression; and, be it further

Resolved, That we do all in our power both morally and financially to see that these men get a fair trial.

WORD FROM HAYWOOD

"Keep Up the Good Work; Imprisonment Is Not Defeat."

Ada County Jail, Boise, Idaho, April 25, 1906.

Daniel De Leon, New York, N. Y., Dear Comrade:

I trust you won't think me remiss for not answering your letter. I felt you would not expect to get an early reply. I have had many communications to acknowledge. No one seems to have forgotten us. The People, your daily letter, we now get regularly. It brings to us the first news of the splendid demonstrations being held in our behalf throughout the entire country. Incidentally Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and St. John are the occasion of the protests. But the working class are building better than they know. Every protest meeting is a blow to capitalism from which the "system" will never recover.

These uprisings are only skirmishes. There is yet to be a united protest, which

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PATRIOTISM NO BAR

TO BRITISH COLUMBIA MOYER-HAYWOOD PROTEST.

The Dividing Line at 49th Parallel No Longer Exists—The New One of Class Interests Has Taken Its Place—Bohn and the Guggenheims.

(Special Correspondence.)

Vancouver, B. C., April 23.—A monster mass meeting was held in the City Hall, Vancouver, B. C., on Friday, April 20, to protest against the unconstitutional deportation and illegal arrest of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners. Fourteen labor organizations participated, viz: Socialist Labor Party, Industrial Workers, Socialist Party, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Electrical Workers, Iron Moulders, Bricklayers and Masons, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Lather's Union, Maintenance of Way Employes (Railroad Trackmen), Barbers' Union, International Cigarmakers, Leather Workers, and Musicians.

The meeting was well attended, about 1,000 being present. The chairman, B. Surges, of the I. W. W., presided, and, after stating the object of the meeting, introduced Alderman Williams, of the Tailors. He extolled the Anglo-Saxon brand of justice, but instanced a case during the strike of the C. P. R. employees a few years ago, in which he declared that a man was shot by a hiring of the company and then spirited out of the country. He declared that the trial in that case was a sham trial.

E. T. Kingsley next spoke and showed the rottenness of the Anglo-Saxon justice so much prated about. He declared that the prosecution of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone was but a phase of the great class struggle between labor and capital, and only another attempt to stifle the struggle for freedom now being made by the working class.

President McVety of the Trades Council, followed; and said it was evident from this meeting that the old ideas of patriotism, which had as the dividing mark the 49th parallel, no longer existed. He was glad so many conflicting interests were united this evening. He was sorry they could not vote as they seemed to be acting this evening—unitedly. He was sure organized labor would respond to this cause.

Then Frank Bohn, organizer of the

I. W. W., was introduced. He clearly showed the illegality of the arrest and deportation, and traced the history of the whole crime against the members of our class from its inception. Bohn said he knew of only one boundary line. On one side there were sixty millions of capital, the courts and the legislators, and on the other side, we, the working class. He said one of the editors of "The World" had said to him that he did not know why he should come to Canada to make trouble, but in "The World" that same afternoon the Guggenheims, with all their capitalist exploitation and anarchy, were welcomed to the province. Bohn then expounded the economics of International Socialism. Rounds of applause greeted his pointed thrusts.

Bohn was followed by William Griffiths, representing the Socialist Labor Party. Griffiths denied that the leaders of labor ever advocated violent measures and declared that the real murderers of Governor Steunenberg, if the truth were known, were agents of the Mine Owners' Association and the Standard Oil Company, who did their best to cast odium on the working class.

The following resolution was unanimously passed:

Whereas, President C. H. Moyer and Secretary W. D. Haywood, of the Western Federation of Miners, together with G. A. Pettibone, ex-member of the executive board, have been secretly arrested and unconstitutionally deported out of the State of Colorado, of which State they were citizens, at the behest of the Mine Owners' Association, which represents the Standard Oil interests in the west, and imprisoned in an Idaho penitentiary, contrary to all law and judicial procedure, a fact that was admitted by Attorney Borah, for the prosecution, before the Supreme Court of Idaho, and, furthermore, they have been denied the rights possessed by American citizens of appeal to habeas corpus; and

Whereas, this is simply a secret plot to destroy the Industrial Workers of the World, of which the Western Federation of Miners is a large and most important part, being, in fact, the largest and most progressive union in the west; and

Whereas, An injury to one is the concern to all, irrespective of imaginary national boundary lines, or craft antagonisms; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the labor organizations of Vancouver, B. C., and other citizens, in mass meeting assembled, herewith extend to our illegally held, and, in our opinion, innocent brothers, our warmest sympathy and financial assistance in this hour of their need.

And further, we enter our most emphatic protest against such high-handed and unconstitutional procedure against innocent men, whose only crime is their endeavor to organize and educate their fellow-workers to a realization of the mission of our class in its onward march toward economic freedom; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the local press for publication, and a copy sent to the Miners' Magazine, Industrial Worker, and Governors McDonald and Gooding, of Colorado and Idaho.

After taking up a collection amounting to \$56, the meeting adjourned.

A dance is to be held in the near future with the same object in view, when all monies collected will be forwarded on to I. W. W. headquarters.

DENVER UP AND DOING.

Poster Against Judicial Murder Out—St. John to Lead Protest.

Denver, Colo., April 21.—The following poster in red ink is seen about this city:

MURDER!

If Moyer and Haywood are judicially murdered the working class will be responsible.

We must be up and doing. Protest with Vincent St. John. Coliseum, Monday, April 23, 8 p. m. Other good speakers. Admission free.

SIDNEY ARMER SAFE.

(Special correspondence.)

Berkely, Cal., April 24.—Sidney Armer, the gifted S. L. P. artist and cartoonist is here safe and unhurt. His recent awful experience, in which his home was wiped out, has rendered him slightly nervous for a while.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

CONGRESSIONAL

THE APOTHEOSIS MADE OF THE AMERICAN HEN.

Thrilling Tribute Paid by an Iowa Representative to the Barn Fowl—She Stands Above the Eagle in Glory and Above Bankers and Iron and Steel Trust—Col. Sellers Redivivus.

There are things so droll in their setting that the setting should be fully described before the drollery is mentioned. On April 25, the bill for the support of the Department of Agriculture being before the House of Representatives, Albert F. Dawson delivered an impassioned address that reached its climax at the following passage (Congressional Record, page 5927):

"Mr. Chairman, as Secretary Wilson says in his annual report, the American hen is becoming a worthy companion to the cow. As everybody on this floor knows, the raising of poultry is largely incidental to the general business of the farm. And yet the annual production of eggs has reached more than a score of billions, and the poultry products have mounted to place of more than half a billion dollars in value.

"We hear a great deal on this floor about the glory of the American eagle, and artists in the past have painted the beauties of the birds of plumage, but, Mr. Chairman, the American hen is entitled to a modest tribute for her industry, her usefulness, and productivity. [Applause.] Why, Mr. Chairman, the American hen can produce—"

"The Chairman—The time of the gentleman has expired."

"Mr. Dawson—May I have ten minutes more?"

"Mr. Henry, of Connecticut.—Mr. Chairman, I yield ten minutes more to the gentleman that he may finish his remarks."

Mr. Dawson—Mr. Chairman, the American hen can produce wealth equal to the capital stock of all the banks in the New York Clearing House in three months and have a week to spare. [Laughter.] In less than sixty days she can equal the total annual production of all the gold mines in the United States. More than that, the United States proudly boasts of its production of pig iron—far greater than any country in the world—and yet the American hen can produce as much wealth in six months as all the iron mines in the country can produce in a year. Give the American hen one year and ten months and she will pay off the interest-bearing debt of the United States. [Applause.]

This, beats Col. Sellers. It also beats anything yet said or done to prove that where a man's treasure is there will also be his heart—determining his ideals, this patriotic symbols, the standard of his aspirations.

EAST ST. LOUIS I. W. W.

Calls Conference to Protest Against Moyer-Haywood Outrage.

East St. Louis, Ill., April 21.—Local Union 174 of the Industrial Workers of the World hereby calls upon all Labor Organizations of East St. Louis vicinity to unite for concerted action to prevent the Mine Owners Association and its Pinkerton Hirelings from rail-roading the officers of the Western Federation of Miners to the gallows for a crime of which they are not guilty.

The object of this conference is to devise ways and means to present the Western Federation of Miners' case to the working people of East St. Louis in its true light, by means of mass meetings, literature, etc., and to collect funds to fight the legal battle.

The conference will begin April 29, and will meet every Sunday at Wallace's Hall, corner Collinsville and Ohio avenues, at 9 a. m. Each Local is requested to send two delegates.

Hoping that you will be represented, we remain

Yours for the working class unity, Local Union 174, I. W. W. William Veal, Pres. Ben. Frankford, Sec.

MILWAUKEE PROTEST MEETING.

A Moyer-Haywood protest demonstration will be held Sunday evening, May 6th, at Lipp's Hall, corner Third and Prairie streets, under the auspices of the four I. W. W. Locals of Milwaukee. All workingmen and women cordially invited. Good speakers will address the meeting.

The A. F. of L.'s Ten Virtues Analyzed

According to the "Federationist," the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, craft unionism, as typified by the A. F. of L., has the following virtues flowing freely from it: "Fosters education and uproots ignorance," "shortens hours and lengthens life," "raises wages and lowers usury," "increases independence and decreases dependence," "develops manhood and balks tyranny," "establishes fraternity and induces liberality," "enlarges society and abolishes classes," "creates rights and abolishes wrongs," "lightens toil and brightens man," and "cheers the home and fireside." Sweeping assertions such as these are just as many empty platitudes if they are not borne out by facts and whether such is the case or not will be our duty to enquire.

Taking the second assertion, "shortens hours and lengthens life," we find that an Australian manufacturer writes in the Gompers-Belmont National Civic Federation "Review" as follows: "That it was almost beyond his comprehension that in this age and country so many industrial plants could be found where the day and night shift system of eleven and thirteen hours was in operation, not to mention cases of a less aggravated nature." Then on the railroads, an official makes the statement: "That two men are performing an amount of work that formerly took three men to do." This is borne out by the secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission who, at a recent convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, stated that only seventeen per cent of the 56,000 locomotive firemen employed by the railroads of the United States would, on account of the tremendous physical and nervous strain of the occupation, become locomotive engineers, that the average freight train load was ten years ago 150 tons; it is now 311 tons. The number of tons carried for each trainman employed was formerly 5,085; it is now 6,703, an increase of 1,618 tons per man, and that it was not uncommon for a fireman on a single trip over the division in twenty to twenty-four hours to shovel sixty tons of coal into the firebox. Disasters on the railroads caused by the inhumanly long hours that the employees are compelled to work are increasingly common. Machinists after years of organization of the craft type are still at the 10-hour day, printers, book binders, etc., nine and ten hours per day, and all working at an increased vitality sapping pace. The printers being an example, by their high and increasing mortality, of the life sapping qualities of the capitalist system of production. Capital had its pound of flesh and blood thirty years ago and it is getting two pounds at the present day. The second assertion of the "Federationist" is, therefore, nothing but an empty phrase.

We now arrive at the third assertion: "Raising wages and reducing usury." What of this assertion! Let us take some facts and figures and by that means test the "raising of wages." Taking the report of the twelfth census of the United States, we find that under the division "Boot and shoe factory product," the average wage in 1890 was for men \$454, and in 1900 \$414, a decrease of \$40. Under the heading "Carriage and wagon workers," the average wage was in 1890 \$508, and in 1900 \$477, a decrease of \$31. "Cars and general shop construction of steam railroads," in 1890, the average wage was \$505, and in 1900 \$553, a decrease of \$12. Under the division "Cars, street and railroad," the average wage was in 1890 \$611 and in 1900 \$544, a decrease of \$67. "Lithography and engraving" obtained in 1890 an average \$606, and in 1900 \$530, a decrease of \$76. "Printing and publishing newspapers and periodicals," the average wage in this branch of trade in the year 1890 was \$591 and in 1900 \$32, a decrease of \$59. Then from the "Bricklayer and Mason" of April, 1905, we take the record of earnings for thirty-four years of a bricklayer. This example is exceedingly good as he states he only lost thirteen days through strikes and frequently received more than the union scale; besides at times being in charge of jobs. Yet, his average earnings for that long period, thirty-four years, were only \$13.00 per week. And he an "aristocrat of labor!" Again, a machinist writing to the "Machinists' Journal" states that the wages obtained by 24,000 machinists in the city of Philadelphia, averaged per week \$9.20, although only five years ago they could average one dollar more. Once more, the steel workers around Pittsburgh after the strike received wages in some cases 50 per cent, below their previous scale. For example, on a forty inch mill, heaters received \$2.74 before and \$1.74 after; crane-men, \$1.44 before and eighty-seven cents after. On a forty-eight inch mill, rollers received \$3.50 before, and \$2.94 after; heaters, \$4.00 before, and \$2.20 after; shearmen, \$2.00 before, and \$1.70

after. Surely, it is evident to anybody but the blind that the "Federationist's" third contention is like unto the second, empty.

Arriving at another virtue which, according to the "Federationist," flows from the craft union form of organization, "Increase of independence and decrease of dependence," we see that it is, certain that those who have nothing are the abject slaves of those who have, and the wage worker having no capital to employ himself must sell his labor power to those who have that capital, the machinery of production. Further, through the constant improvement in that machinery of production eliminating skill and displacing labor, and the steady concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands, which has for its corollary the confiscation of the small capital in the hands of the middle class, there results a constant recruiting of the ranks of the wage workers, rendering the supply of brain and muscle for sale on the labor market far above the demand. As a consequence of the fierce competition for jobs thus arising, wages must go down, dependence on the capitalist is more and more accentuated, and independence becomes, under capitalism, more and more of an utter impossibility to the wage worker.

Mayhap the coiner of these platitudes in the "Federationist" may have, when thinking of the dupes under his control, felt exuberant in contemplating his own and his pals' former dependence with their present fakir independence and so gave the glory of the phrase to the rank and file. A few facts and figures will help us to find out whether our conclusion that the coiner of the phrase had his view when he mentioned "Independence and dependence" is correct. Look at Mr. Gompers with his \$5,000 and perquisites; take a peep at the other officers of the A. F. of L., big and little, and their salaries and perquisites. Take the International Association of Machinists and their \$38,677.84 for a handful of officers, or a total of \$174,593.86 to foster that spirit of independence among the seekers after independence in the I. A. of M.; \$198,240 was spent by the Garment Workers' Union, a large portion of which would certainly go to make the spirit of independence felt among the officers of that adjunct of the A. F. of L. Then the "Union Printers' Bulletin" tells us that Mr. Lynch, during the ten months ending April, 1904, spent \$1,038.37 in travelling expenses and two salaries during that time; organizers expenses increased from \$12,529.46 in 1901 to \$17,664.49 in 1903; and Mr. J. W. Hays expended \$701.94 in Madison, Wis., in seven months and received \$1,607.44 in eight months, in return for which he reduced the membership and made one "settlement." John Mitchell tells the Colorado miners to "Strike, strike, strike" until you win, then lies himself off to Europe to enjoy that independence dear to the A. F. of L. "Federationist." In the meantime the Colorado miners follow the Independent gentleman's advice at the rate of sixty cents per week and gunny sacks as protection to the feet and legs of themselves, wives and children, from the inclemency of the weather. A delegation from the engineers has been sitting at the feet of the Grand Trunk Railway in Montreal for five months, begging a sop, the beggars having cost the Brotherhood, it is said, some \$30,000; in return for which the question is to be arbitrated. Independence, yes, the labor fakir has independence of a certain kind gained at the expense of the life-blood of the utterly duped rank and file. That "independence" some day, and that soon, will come upon them like an avalanche and the place whereon the "independents" stood will know them no more.

We pass on to the next virtue of the "Federationist." "It develops manhood and balks tyranny." Craft divisions, and consequent craft jealousies are conducive to manhood, are they? On the contrary, it can be shown that they are productive of that pettiness that is anything but the make of manhood. They foster a spirit of false pride among the so-called skilled crafts and false pride is certainly not a mark of manhood. Is it an act of manhood when a man agrees to debate, a question to turn tail when the crucial moment arrives? Yet, Mr. Flynn, one of the national organizers of the A. F. of L., who, at Pittsburgh, had accepted a challenge to debate whether the I. W. W. or the A. F. of L. stood for the interests of the wage worker, is not to be found when the time set for the debate arrived. Cowardice is not an attribute of manhood. If manhood flows from A. F. of L. principles surely one would look for it in a concentrated form in the leaders of craft unionism; yet we find Mr. Flynn showing the white feather, and Mr. Gompers threatening dire results to any members of the A. F. of L. who have the temerity to cross swords with the I. W. W. in debate.

Queer manhood! Then we find Mr. O'Connell of the Machinists, instructing the editor of the "Machinists' Journal" to blue pencil any matter of an I. W. W. nature which may be sent to him for the purpose of publication. The "Switchman's Journal" is in the same tyrannical boat. Then the question of high dues, high initiation fees is tyrannical in that it, in a czar-like manner, calls on the man on the outside to stand and deliver as witness the case of the glass worker from Bohemia who was a union man in his own country but that was of no account to the union in this country. He must hand over \$500 or be penalized by the name of scab. He refused to bow to the daylight robbers and is now honored, not degraded, by the name of scab. Take the Trautmann case, take the Corregan case, take the Valentine Wagner case, the Berry case, and others, and they simply prove that instead of balking tyranny, the pure and simple craft union A. F. of L. is tyranny crystallized.

Taking up the "establish fraternity and induce liberality" phrase, it must be said that is correct in the experience of the labor leader. The Civic Federation has been liberal to the fakir with its champagne, with its good things to eat, with its cigars of a dubious brand, fraternal in its feelings between Brothers Belmont, et al and Brother Gompers, et al. The mahogany has blushed when hearing the "sweet and endearing" phrases that have passed between these souls of single thought and one heart. But looking at the results to the rank and file another story is told. Rancor is found where fraternity is supposed to perch. Craft jealousy holds sway. One union not meeting the favor of the labor "independents" is doomed to destruction and another is formed to help in the process, as in the case of the Adams Cylinder and Webb Press Printers' Association No. 51, where the leaders of the International assert that the Adams Press Printers have not conformed to their orders. This assertion is proved by No. 51 as a lie, notwithstanding which a rival union is started by the fakirs with the object in view of sandbagging No. 51 out of existence. Then a letter appears in the "Stonemasons' Journal," dated February 11th, stating that in West Rutland, Vt., despite the fact that the conditions of the trade are appalling in that state, that in Rutland the little organization they have and that seems to be needed, is meeting with all kinds of trouble at the hands of the president of the International Marble Cutters and an organizer for the A. F. of L., besides being denounced to the lowest ebb at the Trades and Labor Council. The signer of the letter, J. L. Dumouchel, states that President Gompers has been appealed to by the fakirs above mentioned and certainly what the imps fall in the devil will make a bold try to succeed. Then the attempted dismemberment of the Brewery Workers by Mr. Gompers & Co., could be cited; but enough is evident to show where the liberality and fraternity have their dwelling place. It is not in the craft unions but at Belmont's Bower, the Civic Federation Board. So much for another vacuum.

Having come to the Federationist's next virtue "Enlarge Society and Eliminate Classes," it may at once be said that society is not the working class. Society, the society that counts, is that small number of people who wield the economic power through the ownership of the means by which wealth is created. In other words the capitalist class. So long as the workers are ignorant of their economic position, outside of society they are condemned by themselves to remain, and as the absolute necessity to-day is for concentrated capital those whose capital is small become the "lawful" prey of concentrated capital; therefore society is not enlarged but contracting, the "Federationist" to the contrary, notwithstanding. The "elimination of classes" is a phrase born in ignorance, for the reason that there are only two economic classes the capitalist class the master, and the wage-worker the slave, each having interests diametrically opposite; the one having the economic power to squeeze; the other, stripped of all power to resist and rendered docile by craft unionism of the A. F. of L. brand. The A. F. of L. stands for capitalism, first, last, and all the time; and would not, if it could, eliminate the useless parasitic capitalist class.

"Creates Rights and Abolishes Wrongs." This phrase is an assertion worthy of its creator, the "Federationist." What right has the A. F. of L. created for the working class? The right to starve? No; that existed before the A. F. of L. came upon the scene, but it has surely conserved it, aggravated it, and made it a virtue. Capitalism is dependent upon the whip of hunger; and, as Mr. Gompers has stated that

there is no right of the capitalist which he will not defend, we can only say to this doughty defender of the wage-worker's right to starve that it is the firm determination of the revolutionary working-class of America to hurl the defenders of the beneficiaries from that right along with the beneficiaries themselves into oblivion. The A. F. of L. type of unionism has never created and never will create one right for the working class; but it has aided in conserving a gigantic wrong; it has insidiously introduced the falsehood into the working class minds, that it is right that the major portion of the product of their toil should go to a class who have no rights whatever, a class that was born in plunder, whose hold upon life is plunder, and that plunder the blood of the working-class in mine, mill, railway, factory or workshop. The great wrong, the "fair or unfair" right to plunder the workers, whose abolition would right all other petty wrongs which are grafted upon it, the A. F. of L. stands for unqualifiedly. Yet in the face of the crimes that capitalism has and is committing against the workers, as in Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone's case, and in Gompers's own turn down by Roosevelt, we find the "Federationist" talking emptily of creating rights and abolishing wrongs! It is to laugh!

"Lightness Toil and Brightens Man," is another jewel supposed to adorn the crown of pure and simple unionism; and, like the other jewels, is worthless. Taking the "Bricklayer and Mason" again, a member of Union No. 47, New York, states, in relation to the increased intensity of labor he undergoes, "That it is an outrage on the laws of nature to be continually striving to do two days' work in one," and the letter is illustrated by the picture of four hundred bricklayers at work. Then we have the surprise of the Australian quoted above, and the facts adduced in relation to the increased intensity of toil of train hands. Then take the alarming increase of insanity and other nervous diseases, the employment of women in factory, office, etc., rendering her a mental and physical wreck before the age of 25 years, children of tender years factoryized into "old men," "old women." All this is proof, of course, of how the "Federationist's" "lightens toil."

When we take the arguments which are made between the labor leader and his brother the capitalist, and dissect them, we surely must come to the conclusion that men who would have the presumption to present them to the rank and file as a victory, great and glorious, must have anything but a high opinion of the "Brightens men" tenet of the "Federationist." Take the Capmakers' victory, take the Chicago agreement of Tobin's Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and you have splendid examples of duplicity foisted upon the rank and file as gospel truth. The fact of the matter is that the insidious false economic teachings, the numberless defeats, etc., has numbed instead of brightened the minds of those under the sway of the A. F. of L. and has rendered them easy prey for an "independent club" by the labor leader. "Lightens toil and brightens man" is a "Federationist" highball, or the results of one.

The final of the A. F. of L. "fight" for "freedom" for the toiling masses is that according to our authority, the "Federationist," it "cheers the home and fireside." This statement will be found as empty as any of its predecessors; and it will also be found upon the facts below that a wrong word has been used by the "Federationist." Cheer should have been grewsomeness. In the first place, home, in its real sense, does not exist for the wage worker. He lives in tenement houses, he rents rooms; gets hid away in some back alley or lives at times in the Mills' Hotel; none of which, at the best of times, is conducive to cheer. Then again there is the ever-present sense of economic insecurity and its train of petty worries, and when the crisis of that economic insecurity arrives, that is, out of a job, he turns his face away from "home," sometimes to get a job, sometimes to desert it and to commit suicide, sometimes to become a tramp; but in any case, trying times for himself, his wife and children is the lot of the wage slave. Taking it from the viewpoint that experience and facts compel us to take, we are compelled to the conclusion that the A. F. of L. organ has another meaning for cheer than the meaning we correctly give to that word.

Another tack must be taken and possibly the facts will help at a correct solution of the problem. The issue of Bulletin 83 states that one employee in 399 is killed on railways of the United States, and one in twenty-six injured. The "Pittsburg Dispatch," under the heading of killed and injured in peaceful pursuits, says that "nine thousand were killed and injured in the iron and

steel mills in one year. In other mills, shops and factories, 4,000 were killed or maimed, and with mines and railroad fatalities, make a grand total of 17,700; and in addition there are thousands of less serious cases that are not reported." The Inter-State Commerce Commission reports show that among trainmen the ratio of killed was one in 135 in 1902 while the ratio had increased to one in 123 in 1903. Certainly with all this slaughtering and maiming continuously going on, there is not much cause for "cheer" in the thousands of "homes" of the wage workers. Yet if it were not for these appalling facts the \$3,764,015 worth of A. F. of L. "cheer" could not be handed out within the past few years by the order of Locomotive Firemen and made a proud boast of by Grand Secretary Carter. Neither could \$140,000 worth of A. F. of L. "cheer" be handed out by the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen to enter the "homes" desolated by the insatiable blood lust of the capitalist system of production, a system which is the "ultima Thule" of the A. F. of L. unionism, a system which, according to Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, Stone, Hannaphan and Company is eminently practicable and enables these men to proudly and boastfully show, by virtue of all the grewsomeness which capitalism entails in its awful slaughter of the workers, the benignity and cheer-giving qualities of pure and simple trades unionism, reduced to the sign of the \$. The capitalist class wade their way through the blood of the workers and the A. F. of L. labor leaders assist in that orgy; and from time to time they cause the rank and file to bow in thankfulness at the amount of "Federationist" "cheer" which is sent into the "homes" and "firesides" of the sufferers from the capitalist dance of death. Such, indeed, is the "cheerfulness" which the A. F. of L. offers, and is proud to offer, as a bright jewel in its diadem of spurious jewels. It would indeed be laughable were not the joke so damnably tragic.

From the facts produced it can be seen that the false principle of "capital and labor are brothers," requires the "Federationist," and other organs of pure and simpledom, to prop up falsehood with falsehood, in order to enable the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class to perform their duty, that duty consisting of running the revolutionary spirit of the rank and file into the ground, thereby conserving the capitalist system of production, a system which signifies the robbery, the slaughtering, maiming and mutilation, the degradation and misery of the wage working class! This is what craft unionism stands for first and foremost; and it needed not President Gompers and the A. F. of L. to assure the capitalists, whom he addressed through the St. Louis Exposition, that the A. F. of L. stood always for the "rights" of the capitalist class. Facts upon every hand point to prove that the most useful power in the hands of the employing class is the labor leader through whom the A. F. of L. rank and file are controlled and through whom the rank and file are betrayed. FOSTERS IGNORANCE AND PREVENTS EDUCATION is a real JEWEL to the A. F. of L.

None too soon has the Industrial Workers of the World appeared with the message to the wage worker, that there is nothing in common between the capitalist class and the wage worker, the economic slave of that class, and that not until the wage workers come together on the political and economic field for the purpose of capturing and dismantling the capitalist fort, government, on the one hand, and taking and holding the machinery of production for the benefit of all, on the other hand, can such a being as a free man exist. Emancipation of the wage worker from wage slavery through education and organization, is the motto of the I. W. W.: rivetting the chains of slavery still firmer and firmer by means of falsehood fostering ignorance, is the motto of the A. F. of L. It remains with the wage working class to decide whether an institution which stands for economic servitude, the A. F. of L. crafts unionism is the former, the I. W. W. form of industrial unionism is the latter. Can there be any doubt of the choice. We, of the I. W. W., say NO.

James P. Reid.
Toronto, Canada.

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I. W. W. CIGARMAKERS

VINDICATED BY THE SILVER BOW TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY.

Butte, Mont. April 22.—The Industrial Workers of the World cigarmakers here have published the "I. W. W. Cigar Bulletin", which the sub-head states, is "Issued Occasionally To Refute Lies and Establish Truth." On the first and second pages appear the following:

THE TRUTH AT LAST

The Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, After-Industrial and Searching Investigation, Endorses I. W. W. Cigarmakers and the Universal Red Label.

REPORT OF INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

"We, your committee appointed to investigate the charges of unfairness and use and misuse of the red label, beg leave to submit the following report:

"We do not believe that the International Cigar Makers had a right to fine men that they would not take into their union on account of said men using the team system. The evidence as to time and place when fines were levied against the Industrial Workers of the World is not sufficient to support the allegation that Industrial Workers of the World were unfair.

"As to the question of duality, we find there is no local cigarmakers' union of the Industrial Workers of the World in Butte, the cigarmakers using the red label still retaining their membership in the Chicago union, and for that reason there is no dual union to the International Cigar Makers' union in Butte.

"We find that the Industrial Workers of the World cigar makers are willing to go into the International Cigar Makers' union providing they can be taken in as team workers, and we recommend that the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly use its best efforts to bring the unions under one head.

"W. A. Parker,
"H. A. Weidenbach,
"H. F. Schulz,
"Committee."

This is the report of the committee from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly in the case of the industrial cigarmakers who were accused by the enemies of the Industrial Workers of the World of non-union conduct and of duality to the Cigarmakers' International Union.

A Thorough Investigation

This report was made after a thorough investigation by the committee. Representatives of the Cigarmakers' International Union and of the A. F. of L. appeared before the committee, and were even permitted to examine and cross-examine all of the accused men.

On the other hand, the accused cigarmakers defended themselves personally, depending only upon the facts they were able to present, and the evidence as to their previous records as union men as proven by their former associates.

Not a single representative of the Industrial Workers of the World ever appeared before the committee or ever asked to be heard in the case.

Verdict Unanimous

And the verdict of the committee was unanimous, in spite of the fact that the chairman of the committee, when appointed, asked to be excused BECAUSE HE WAS PREJUDICED AGAINST THE INDUSTRIAL CIGARMAKERS IN ADVANCE OF THE TRIAL, and did not believe he could give them an impartial trial.

Adopted by Assembly.

The report of the committee was unanimous, and it was unanimously adopted by the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, the oldest and largest central labor body in the State of Montana.

As to the unfairness of the I. W. W. men, the evidence was overwhelming that the accused men had union records absolutely clear; that they were union men as consistently as it was possible for them to be in view of the Cigarmakers' International Union debarring them from membership because they worked by the team system. This fact was supported by the sworn affidavits of more than one hundred and eighty former associates of the accused men.

Debarred Because Team Workers

The question of duality was settled in favor of the industrialists clearly and without a shadow of a doubt when

it was shown that the Cigarmakers' International Union does not claim jurisdiction over cigarmakers working by the team system, and does not permit them to become members of the international.

This placed the team workers clearly among the unorganized, so far as the A. F. of L. was concerned. And when the A. F. of L. deny these men the right to organize under any other form of organization, then the A. F. of L. and the Cigarmakers' International Union place themselves in the position of manufacturing scabs of men who are anxious and willing to be union men.

This entire subject was fully investigated and debated in the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, and some of the strongest opponents of the I. W. W. are within that body. And yet it was the unanimous judgment of the Assembly that the I. W. W. should be commended instead of condemned for extending its jurisdiction and protection over these cigarmakers who were denied the protection or assistance of a craft organization in their efforts to better their conditions as workers.

SHERMAN STIRS

New Castle Workmen—Big Protest Meeting Held.

New Castle, Pa., April 23.—The I. W. W. held a successful protest meeting here on Sunday night, April 22, with Chas. O. Sherman, General President, and Edward Markley of Pittsburg, as speakers.

The Opera House was nicely filled and judging from the applause which greeted the speakers' words, the workmen and women are realizing to-day that the kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone is an outrage against the entire working class, whether it be of Colorado or Pennsylvania.

Sherman held his audience so well in hand that after describing the tortures which were inflicted on the Western Federation men during the Colorado strike, he asked: "What would you men do?" "Fight, fight, fight!" was the answer from the audience.

Sherman then told them that it was not necessary to spill one drop of blood, but to organize on industrial lines in the I. W. W. and if the capitalist class wanted to fight amongst themselves, let them fight!

Loud applause followed and when the appeal for funds was called for the audience contributed about \$43. Of course, the small bug capitalist will get some of that for rent and printing, the balance will be sent to the defense fund.

Markley followed Sherman. Some men, under certain conditions and circumstances, are forced to make a good speech; and the old veteran proved his ability to espouse the cause of emancipation, but has had another title added to his long list, that of humorist. He laughed it into his audience and pressed home the fact that it was up to the workers to decide whether they were willing to remain wage slaves under capitalism or free men under the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Five hundred copies of the Miner's Magazine and five hundred copies of the Industrial Worker were distributed, and the following resolution adopted:

Whereas, We workingmen and women of New Castle, Pa., do solemnly protest against the secret arrest and kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, officers and members of the Western Federation of Miners, the mining department of the Industrial Workers of the World; and

Whereas, We believe those men to be innocent of the charges preferred against them by the Mine Owners' Association, said Mine Owners having violated and trampled under foot all rights which every American citizen is entitled to as a citizen; and

Whereas, The only crime Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are guilty of is the crime of organizing the working class industrially; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we call upon all wage workers to study this question of class solidarity and hasten the day when labor will be so organized, economically and politically, in a solid body strong enough to rid themselves of all law-breaking murdering masters and stand as free men and women under the Co-operative Commonwealth; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Governor Gooding, a copy to Governor McDonald, a copy to the Daily People, a copy to the Miners' Magazine, and a copy to each of the local papers.

The meeting adjourned with three cheers and a tiger for the I. W. W.

Watch the label on your paper. The will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

SUMMER CAMPAIGN

Opened on Boston Common—Thoughtful Audience of One Thousand Present.

A battery of the revolutionary army was placed in position on Boston Common at 3 p. m. sharp, Sunday, April 22. It immediately opened fire on the enemy. It was inspiring to see some of the heavier shots go crashing through that great wall of ignorance, behind which has been so firmly entrenched the thieving capitalist class.

Many a workman who had been taught to believe that wall to be of divine origin—unscaleable, and impossible of penetration, was made to see both over it, and through it. Many went home with a level-headed, well formed idea that it was to-day, not only a human device quite possible of being demolished, but that its demolishing will be a finished work in the very near future.

James Corcoran was introduced as the first speaker by Chairman Callahan.

There being several workmen wrangling in an argument nearby as he took the stand, Corcoran made known to them the original feature peculiar to, and which differentiates, S. L. P. meetings from all others, namely: the fact that all questions, impromptu or otherwise are always answered before closing.

"The prime cause of the continued enslavement of the workers as a class is their lack of organization. Let the workingmen," said Corcoran, "kindly listen to what the speakers have to say first. When they have finished, all questions will be answered; those of us who are not satisfied living the life of a capitalist wage slave and wish to rise to a more manly plane, must train ourselves to act in an organized manner, and the time to begin is now."

He had their respect and attention immediately.

The speaker then went on to show the difference between the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World, showing plainly why the A. F. of L. was so rapidly disintegrating, and explaining the cause of the marvelous growth of the I. W. W.

"We see, on the one hand," said he, "a set of men (A. F. of L. labor misleaders) being banqueting by the giant exploiters of labor, by whom the working class is so openly despised; and, on the other hand, we see another set of men (the I. W. W., the genuine labor leaders) dragged to prison, although the strumpets of capitalism had to trample the constitution of the United States under foot to do it." He asked his hearers to think it over and draw their own conclusions.

A digression—Corcoran is the speaker that struck the one effective blow at the wage slave's chain at the late Socialist party Faneuil Hall Moyer-Haywood protest meeting. With cautions to the right of him, cautionings to the left of him, and numerous coat-tail pullings behind him, he was given five or ten minutes on the platform.

Like a good workman he swung his hammer and landed fair on the head of the spike that needed it most.

"Where," he called, in ringing tones, "where are Frank Foster and the other so-called labor representatives of Boston? Four citizens, members of the working class, have had their civic rights trampled under foot; have been kidnapped, illegally arrested and dragged to prison. Why are not these so-called labor leaders here to-night to protest against this outrage? Does not their absence at such a time, in such a place brand them as enemies of the working class?" There was a commotion on the platform; palings and flushings of painfully interested parties, and before Corcoran could answer his very pointed, and quite natural questions, which he at once started out to do, he was shut off. The audience is still wondering—Where and why? Now to return to the Common.

War horse Carroll next took the stand as speaker, and soon the smoke of battle hung heavy over the large audience. Among other things, he called their attention to the bouquets which the shameless, braggart, capitalist press was throwing at itself and its master; one sample, "The indomitable American spirit." And they so word it that some readers are led to believe that the wealthy exploiters of labor who have had their slave pens burned down, and who hasten to rebuild them, that they are the constructive element in society, when, as a matter of fact, such a slave pen is to its owner a veritable goose that lays the golden eggs. If it was not rebuilt the exploiter would have to make an honest living. "The indomitable spirit of American graft" is what he is possessed of. "Does he roll up his sleeves and help to rebuild? It is to laugh. He is away shaking dice at Monte Carlo, or cruising with his private yacht and harem in Southern seas, too cold for him here yet. No, workmen, you are the ones that will build for him his man-

sion again and present it to him on his return gratis. You will not alone rebuild his slave pen, but you will fill it, and bare your backs that he may peel the hide off you, and with that hide build other slave pens to further skin your class.

"Why do you stand for it? He gives you food you say. That food was produced from farm to dining table by your class. It is yours, also, the choice slabs of sirloin steak and other rich foods that now burden his large dining table. It is your food that you alone produce, that makes his parasite life possible. You say he clothes you. No, it is you who clothe him, from the sole of his foot to the crown of his swelled head, and you give him the best and wear shoddy yourselves and children. Is it any wonder that the average capitalist looks upon you with contempt, when you are so utterly dumb in the face of all the wrongs heaped upon you? Even though present society were pure, and had we no crime it would still be a marvel how you are satisfied in such a humiliating role as the producers of everything and the owners of nothing. But when you know, as well as I do, the rotten state of society, that vice, murder, and all crime is increasing by leaps and bounds, that death by actual, horrible, starvation is a common daily occurrence, that the conditions under which we are compelled to work are such that, as Daniel De Leon puts it when commenting on the maxim, that the sweet morsel of capitalism: The survival of the fittest, 'our social condition is rapidly becoming such that only the vilest reptile can live.' The workingman who while passing this life hands over a son or a daughter in chains to the reptiles that already have absolute control of his daily bread without making even a protest, is dead to all sense of manhood and shame."

Space will not allow the writing of even half of what either speaker said, but it certainly was a grand opening of the summer campaign against the enemies of mankind. There was fully a thousand or more of an audience, all seeming to be more studious and thoughtful than last year. They stood strict attention almost to a man for the two hours. Comrade Bomback was pestered by comrades who wanted the proceedings of the New Jersey Unity Conference, but his stock was cleared out. I understand they can take the names of those desiring literature, but may not sell any on the common. Socialists and sympathizers be there at 3 p. m. each Sunday. Our speakers are right on the firing line. And you should hear them.

J. C. Ross.

Boston, April 22.

WORD FROM HAYWOOD.

(Continued from page 1.)

will be possible when we have 500,000 aggressive members of the Industrial Workers of the World WHO UNDERSTAND the PURPOSE of the organization. Then will this government be transformed from a political junk shop into an industrial work shop, with every worker in possession of the right to labor, to get in return a full equivalent of his toil. This is industrial freedom! It is good to be enlisted in an effort to accomplish such a purpose, the emancipation of the wage slave! From the protests being held will issue the proclamation.

Tell our fellow workers to keep up the good work. Imprisonment is not defeat. There will always be enough of the working class out of jail to strike for freedom.

Yours fraternally,
Wm. D. Haywood.

DRAGGING TRIAL.

Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone Case May Not Be Taken Up Till June.

Caldwell, Id., April 20.—In an interview with Judge Smith, Monday regarding the trial of Haywood and Moyer, and as to the time it was likely to begin, the judge said: "I have over two weeks of court at Weiser yet, and have decided to go from there to Owyhee county for the term of court there before opening in Canyon county, so it will be the latter part of May and perhaps the first of June before we get to the big trial. I want to get everything else out of the way, so there will be no bother with other matters." When asked about having this trial at once the judge said it would hardly be wise as the question of the legal right in bringing the men here was in the hands of the supreme court and if they were returned to Colorado, the large expense incurred in a trial at this time would be wasted. Then again the jail at this place is in no shape for any prisoners and is being repaired and enlarged and that will not have been completed for some time. So you can say court will not be opened here before the latter part of May.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

THE SMALL STORE KEEPER

Gradually Being Ground Out Between Capitalist Competition and Working Class Poverty.

How do the small storekeepers make a living? This question rises in the minds of many people, says the Kansas City Star.

"In Chicago and New York," says R. L. Gregory, who has been in the wholesale grocery trade most of his life, "people who live in flats or tenements, on small wages, make 'penny purchases.' They buy three cents' worth of flour and use it in gravy because lard is cheaper than butter; they can get a few cents' worth of bacon or a chuck steak or a piece of boiling meat. Cash rules that sort of trade. It provides a hard living for the storekeeper. It's scraping an existence, and nothing else."

"Of course a big part of the business is credit, necessarily. No men are paid their wages in advance. The dealer must be careful about his extensions of credit and see that, except in the most unusual circumstances, his collections are prompt. He can't succeed otherwise."

"I make about \$50 or \$60 a month," said a man who has a small grocery store on East Twelfth street, in the middle of a block, near strong competition. "Everything I sell is sold for cash, too. I make a large number of small sales, five to ten and fifteen cents' worth. People who have small incomes buy just enough to last them supper to the next day's breakfast. If some one came in for tea any night except Sunday night, perhaps, they'd be scraped clean. I don't have to pay for a horse and wagon. I have only one clerk, and he only in the busiest season, which is the holidays. My wife does the clerking when I go to market."

"I clear about \$1.75 or \$2 a day," said a shoe dealer who also does a cobbling business on East Eighth street. "My rent is low now, but the advance in real estate is going to make me move soon, for big buildings are the rule now and landlords can't afford to rent to us little fellows. In former years, up to 1905, I could make \$3 a day, but since then my rent has been raised. Then, too, I'm growing older and can't work so fast."

"You'd be surprised to know how many families live on vegetables," said a man on West Fourteenth street, who makes a specialty of meats, fruits and vegetables. "I don't handle half the supply of meat now that I formerly did. I don't know that I'm in a vegetarian neighborhood; that isn't it. I think people are eating less meat year by year. Perhaps they are living on vegetable soup. I know that soup bones and carrots and onions go here as fast as we get them in. I clear about \$3.50 a day after allowing for all expenses and about eight per cent. on my investment of \$1,500. It's a living and that's all. I have to count my family's grocery bill out of that \$3.50, so you see that although my groceries are bought at wholesale prices I don't have much money left. Still, I'm going ahead slowly year by year."

"At this time of year," said a man who sells butter and eggs exclusively, "we sell mighty little butter. The imitations are the rule. Lard is in big demand, for gravies, I suppose. Gravy is the salvation of poor people, not poverty-stricken folk, but those on small wages. Eggs are getting cheaper now, slowly; but fortunate is the workingman who has a few hens."

"Ordinary people can't afford eggs at thirty and thirty-five cents a dozen. We sometimes sell as few as three eggs, enough for the father's dinner bucket. I suppose. Down this way—on West Thirteenth street—we cater to workingmen mostly, and it is all on credit. If collections are good, and they usually are, I can figure out about \$3 to \$3.50 a day above all expenses."

The corner drug store is a fixed institution in residence neighborhoods. "We have to sell everything except hardware and dry goods," said one of that class. "If we can get people to come in for their stamps and stationery and to use the telephone we get them to buying cigars and candy and soaps and such stuff. The drug part is really incidental about half the time."

MOTHERS! MOTHERS! MOTHERS!!

Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN while TEething, with PERFECT SUCCESS. IT SOOTHES the CHILD, SOFTENS the GUMS, ALLAYS all PAIN; CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHœA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup," and take nothing else.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party and publishes nothing but sound Socialist literature.

A CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS!

To attain a more widespread circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and thus promote Socialism—a united revolutionary economic organization no less than a united revolutionary political organization—we hereby issue a call for volunteers to help increase the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. We would particularly address those of our readers who may not be affiliated with either the economic or the political organization, but whose interest is as strong as if they did, to give a hand in this work.

No extraordinary qualification is required in order to get subscriptions, and you do not put yourself under any obligation to subscribers, as they get their money's worth. The only thing necessary is determination.

In calling upon you to help in this important work of propaganda we have no personal interests to gratify. No individual derives any profit from the press of the Socialist Labor Party. The Party has its press but for one purpose—to further the movement.

We doubt if there is one earnest reader of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, one militant Socialist, who will say that he CANNOT get at least five half yearly subscriptions for the WEEKLY PEOPLE!

The issue of the paper in which this call first appears, is dated May 5th, let us see how many volunteers will have responded between this date and the issue of June 9th.

There are no limitations of any kind. We call upon ALL of our readers to help. If you can get yearly subscriptions so much the better. You know the price. Yearly 50 cents; 6 months 25 cents.

Now, then, let us see what a united effort all over the land will produce. If every one works, knowledge of the movement will be greatly extended, and that is the real propaganda. Let there be no "ifs." Every one work. Enlist yourself for this special effort to further the movement!

WEEKLY PEOPLE

NEW YORK CITY.

P. O. BOX 1576.

NO LET UP! READY THIS WEEK LEAFLET No. 3 ON THE COLORADO-IDAHO OUTRAGE

The Mine Owners' Association Conspiracy against Charles R. Moyer, William D. Haywood, and their associates of the Western Federation of Miners, the Mining Department of the I. W. W., must be brought before the great tribunal of Labor—the Working Class of the land. Every workingman must be reached.

To counteract the venom that the capitalist press is spewing forth to belaud and lame the minds of the workers upon this latest capitalist outrage the Labor News will have ready the coming week a leaflet which should be spread broadcast. An aroused, clearly posted and correctly directed working class sentiment will effectively call Idaho, Colorado and other officialdom to order.

Reach the Workers! Organize Committees to distribute the leaflet. If you cannot get others to help start the work yourself. Resolve that you will do your duty! The situation is desperate!

Price, delivery prepaid,
1,000—\$2.25
100—20 cents
50—10 cents

Send on your orders.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
2-6 NEW READE ST., N. Y.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

For the week ending April 27th, we received 219 subscriptions to the Weekly People, and 42 mail subscriptions to the Daily People, a total of 261.

The roll of honor for the week is: G. F. Carnahan, Houston, Tex.; 18; Aug. Gillhaus, Denison, Tex.; 13; B. H. Williams, McCabe, Ariz.; 9; W. Goss, Belleville, Ill.; 9; F. Bohmbach, Boston, Mass.; 9; J. H. Arnold, Louisville, Ky.; 6; H. C. Beck, Indianapolis, Ind.; 6; and the following send in 5 each: Frank Leitner, San Antonio, Tex.; F. Carroll, Bisbee, Ariz.; B. Hilbert, Jr., Hamilton, O.; J. Farrell, Lowell, Mass.; C. Beck, Bellingham, Wash.; Nick Dufner, Lynden, Wash. Prepaid cards sold: F. Bohmbach, Boston, Mass.; 85; H. Schrader, Albany, N. Y.; 85; Frank Leitner, San Antonio, Tex.; 85; Gust. Norling, Paseo, Wash.; 84.50; A. J. Francis, New York; 84; G. Wilrich, El Paso, Tex.; 82.25.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Moyer-Haywood leaflets: 10,000 to Buffalo, N. Y.; 2,000 to Frenchtown, Mont.; 1,000 to Houston, Tex.; Lincoln, Neb.; Lawrence, Mass.; and Milford, Mass.; 2,000 to Winona, Minn., and Cleveland, O.

The latest Moyer-Haywood leaflet is illustrated with a reduced cut of the "Inner Circle" cartoon by Armer, which appeared in The People.

Pamphlets to the following amounts shipped to: \$4.40 Spokane, Wash.; \$4.90 Allegheny County, Pa.; \$3.50 Elizabeth, N. J.; \$2.50 Worcester, Mass.; \$2 Elgin, Ill.; \$2 Carteret, N. J.; \$1.75 Minneapolis, Minn.; \$1 No. Attleboro, Mass.; 28th A. D., New York, \$1.80 for Sue books.

TO ORGANIZE SECTION.

On SUNDAY, May 13, 3 p. m., Springfield, Mass., under the auspices of the Scandinavian Socialist Club, a mass meeting will be held at Mechanic's Hall, 359 Main street, for the purpose of organizing a section of the Socialist Labor Party.

All workingmen are invited.

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stackton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Section Chicago, Ill., meets second and fourth Wednesday in the month 8 p. m. at 155 E. Randolph st. 3rd floor.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, 8 p. m., at Smith's Hall, 21st and Franklin ave., 3rd floor.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., 1339 Walnut street, General Committee meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday. German, Jewish and Hungarian educational meetings every Wednesday and Sunday. Open every night.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Every Tuesday night at 8, 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures. Science class Wednesday nights.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—J. C. Butterworth Sec'y, 110 Albion ave., Paterson; A. Leasing, Fin. Sec'y, 266 Governor street, Paterson, N. J.

Comrades and sympathizers are urged to attend and bring their friends and shopmates with them.

Published Every Saturday by the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Entered as second-class matter at the
New York Post Office, July 13, 1900.

Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good we oft might
win,
By fearing to attempt.
—Shakespeare.

A VOICE FROM SAN FRANCISCO.

The first letter from a San Francisco
comrade, caught in San Francisco by
the recent calamity, reached this office
on the 25th ult. and is published in this
issue. It is published with the fervent
hope that other letters may now be on
the way from other comrades, long
esteemed in the Party for their heart,
their character and their knowledge, but
of whose whereabouts nothing has been
known since the fateful 18th.

To-day's letter is descriptive in the
full sense of the term. It describes the
physical picture, and also describes the
moral and sociological aspect of the wil-
derness that only recently was a bustling
city.

Owls of wisdom and philosophy, but
experts in the cynicism needed to pal-
liate the sins of capitalism, jeer at the
"moral" that is being pointed out. No
doubt much of this moral is spineless.
And yet the "moral" talks loudly.

The earthquake itself may be put in
the catalogue of "visitations" that man
can not foresee, least of all guard
against. To the extent that wealth and
life was lost thereby, there is nothing to
do but bow in humble resignation be-
fore a force that man can not control.
But the wealth destroyed and the lives
taken by the earthquake itself is but a
small percentage of the damage done.
The overwhelming majority of the
wealth destroyed, of the lives lost, of
the anguish suffered in San Francisco
was caused not by the earthquake. The
earthquake played only a remote part in
that—the immediate cause was the vices
of the capitalist class. It is fire that
devastated San Francisco. True, the earth-
quake broke the water mains and crippled
the power to fight the conflagration.

But what was the real and immediate
source of the conflagration? What
fed it? The large number of rickety and
even frame houses that should long ago
have been torn down, and made place
for fire-proof buildings. But no, so long
as there is a penny's profit to be drawn
from his old investment, the capitalist
will keep the old thing in existence. That
fact explains the continuance of horse-
cars in New York in these days of elec-
tricity, it explains the continuance of
antiquated machinery where improved
machinery should be at work; it ex-
plains the "imprisonment" of great in-
ventions, which are not allowed to be
put in operation lest they interfere with
older methods from which profit can still
be extracted—it explains the continuance
in San Francisco of frame houses, a
perpetual threat to the city's safety.
That in these frame-houses only work-
men were huddled only underscores
the "original sin" so to speak; this lat-
ter circumstance is only one of the in-
cidental manifestations of which the
brutal riding over a child by a fleeing
capitalist in his automobile is another.

Capitalism to-day only holds civiliza-
tion back. Wellbeing, human safety and
happiness—the only goal of civilization
—these are not promoted to-day, they
are hampered, where they are not ham-
pered, by capitalism. Such a social
system necessarily breeds inhumanity.
What with its "economics" and its
"ethics," capitalism perpetually exposes
society to such physical and moral catas-
trophes as our San Francisco corre-
spondent depicts.

SENSE AND NONSENSE OF CAPITALISTS.

The Denver "Republican" of April
4th devotes its leading editorial to a de-
nunciation of the I. W. W. The pa-
per's wrath can be condensed in few
words. "Other Unions are conservative;
they do not mean to fight the employ-
ers; the I. W. W. is revolutionary: it
is organized to fight the capitalist
class." There is a deal of sense, and
not a little nonsense in these words.
The matter bears close connection with
the subject of the article "Science in
Cap and Bells," reproduced in this is-

sue upon request, together with the an-
swer given, also in this issue, to a New
York correspondent—W. W.

No doubt there are Unions that do
not mean "to fight the employers",
meaning, of course, thereby the class
of the employer; and no doubt the I.
W. W. is organized to fight just that
class. So far there is sense in the
words of the Denver "Republican". It
is an evidence of sense, for which the
paper deserves credit, that it realizes
that the test of "conservatism" or "re-
volutionaryism" in a Union is its atti-
tude, not towards an individual em-
ployer but towards the employer as a
class. It is, however, an evidence of
nonsense, for which, likewise, the paper
deserves full credit, when it hugs to
its capitalist heart the Union that is
"conservative".

The economic organization of work-
ingmen, the Union, in short, is the
reaction which follows capitalist ac-
tion. This action lies in the fatedly
unavoidable pressure to lower the "stan-
dard of living" of the Working Class,
or, using the technical economic term,
to lower the exchange value of the com-
modity labor-power steadily down to a
declining price, that is a declining wage.
The process produces upon the mass of
the proletariat the identical effect that
geologists tell us is produced by the
cooling process of the earth. As the
cooling, and consequent shrinking pro-
cess goes on, there is a subsidence on,
mountain-making, and finally ripping,
which, offering a vent to central heat,
breaks forth in volcanoes. So with the
capitalist process of reducing the stan-
dard of living—it produces the coun-
ter-stroke of the Union. There is, con-
sequently, no Unionism worth mention-
ing that is a rose to capitalism. The
difference in Unions is simply—and
not very "simple" is the difference—
that one set is not conscious of the
cause of its birth, the other is. The
Unionism that is unconscious of the
cause is a smoldering volcano; the
Unionism that is conscious is a volcano
in eruption. Bodies of men not being
inanimate matter, there follows the spe-
cific difference that Unions that are con-
scious of their cause act intelligently—
they march with deliberation to their
goal, to the overthrow of the capital-
ist class, they are healing surgeons of
society; Unions that are unconscious
of their cause move helter skelter, blind-
ly, they also cut into the flesh of the
body social, but the cuts they make
are the cuts of the bungling surgeon,
hurtful.

In the language of Marx—the capi-
talist class has everything to fear from
the ignorance and everything to dread
from the intelligence of the Working
Class. There is no balm for capitalism
in the Gilead of either the Sense or the
Nonsense of the Denver "Republican"
—thanks to the law of capitalist mo-
tion itself.

TAFT'S UNFELICITOUS WORDS.

Speaking to the students of Yale on
April 23d, Secretary Taft alluded to the
Socialists as "cranks," and added "that
will pass." These words are unfelici-
tous.

A "crank" is a thing that creates rev-
olutions. It is an implement known even
in countries where the mechanical arts
are at a low level. In so far as the term
is applied to men, the article so desig-
nated is no stranger anywhere. Every-
where, to the sorrow of the Tafts and
the greater sorrow of the Taftes, the
thing is well known, and known in all
languages.

"Cranks," in good old Tacitonian
Latin, were the Christian propagandists
called in the days of Tacitus; and, as if
to furnish one more evidence to the
fact of the oneness of the human mind,
the passing of those "cranks" was con-
fidently predicted.

"Cranks," in dog-Latin and in the sev-
eral vernaculars of northern Europe, was
the term with which the Hussites, the
Wycliffites, the Lutherans were suc-
cessively dismissed—and they certainly
cranked the comforts of their superci-
lous contempters.

"Cranks," with good round oaths at-
tached, was the Cavalier term for the
Roundheads who eventually centered
around Cromwell. They "cranked" the
feudal lord of Britain and they "cranked"
Charles I. out of shape, nor yet did they
"pass away."

"Cranks," in the choicest French of
the elite of Louis XV., were the oncom-
ing bourgeois styled—the Turgots and
Rousseaus and the Mirabeaus, who, with
science, however fractional, and with
sentiment not at all fractional, prop-
ounded views that evoked the merriest
peals of silvery laughter from the de-
colletee dames of the Oeil de Boeuf.

"Cranks!" said the itinerant court-
iers, the Tafts of the British Crown,
when struggling bourgeois and still col-
onial America was laboring to snap the
feudal trammels to commerce.—And how
those "crank's," led by their Franklins
and Madisons, their Adamsses and Wash-
ingtons, cranked the British regime out
of joint.

"Cranks!" again was the epithet

SCIENCE IN CAP AND BELLS

(Reproduced from Daily People, Dec.
8, Weekly People, Dec. 16, 1905.)

The capitalist class of Vancouver, B.
C., have cause to rub their hands with
glee. Capitalist economics and sociology
are poisonous enough, God knows; but
the worst possible thing is the false pre-
tense of Socialist economics and sociol-
ogy. Whether the pretense is intention-
ally or unintentionally false, makes no
difference. Stupid love works as much
injury as deliberate hatred. It matters
not whether the "Western Clarion"
means to befuddle the workers of its
vicinity or not, certain is the conclusion
that its idiotic editorial utterances—
given, as they are, as though they were
choice chunks of wisdom snatched by
the "Western Clarion's" Moses amidst
thunder and lightning from the top of
the Sinai of Marx—can not choose but
cripple for life the intellect of the un-
wary who imbibes them. One of these
latest choice chunks of economic and so-
ciologic idiocy, ladled out as Marxism,
is the editorial article that the "Western
Clarion" perpetrates on the 18th of last
month against Unionism.

The groundwork of the argument is a
travesty of the Marxian law of exchange
value, applied to the merchandise labor-
power. In the chapter on Relative Sur-
plus Value, in Marx's "Capital", the fact
is expressly stated that one of the meth-
ods that the capitalist adopts with the
view of increasing his surplus value is to
lower the wages of the laborer below the
value of his labor-power, and that this
method PLAYS AN IMPORTANT PART IN
ACTUAL PRACTICE. The consideration of
this method, it is there also expressly
stated, is temporary, it is temporary, it
is temporary. Later on, in the course of
the work, this method of lowering the wages
of the laborer below the exchange value
of his labor-power, is taken up by Marx
in all its ramifications and shown, in-
deed, to "play an important part in actual
practice." Of all this the uncommonly
self-satisfied wisecrack Editor of the
"Western Clarion" knows nothing, and
seems to care less. True to the principle
that a little knowledge puffeth up, he
prances around with the Marxian ab-
stract law of exchange value and he
"reasons"—commodities exchange in
the market according to their exchange
value; occasionally there are perturba-
tions in this law: such perturbations are
at the most but temporary; eventually ex-
change, "like water, finds its level;"
therefore (sic), whatever the incidental
disturbances in the labor-market, they
are only temporary, the commodity labor-
power "will refuse to exchange for any
considerable length of time except upon a
correct basis," the basis of its exchange
value!!! Daily experience tells a differ-
ent tale; to palm off such fustian as
Marxism is positively grotesque.

The commodity cloth and the com-
modity labor-power fare, as Marx puts
it "in actual practice" materially differ-
ent. With cloth a large supply is an
indication of less social labor required for
its reproduction, and, inversely, a small
supply is an indication of increased so-
cial labor required. Consequently, how-
ever the money price of cloth may fluc-
tuate in the market, owing to temporary
perturbing causes, the money price and
the exchange value of the cloth will in
the long run coincide; the determining
factor in the money price will be the ex-
change value, unaffected by the supply,
the supply being, as shown above, noth-
ing but a reflex of the exchange value
of the cloth. The commodity cloth, ac-
cordingly, will, indeed, "refuse to ex-
change for any considerable length of
time except upon a correct basis"—value
for value. How, however, stand things
in actual practice with the merchandise
labor-power? Is, with labor-power, the
increase or decrease of its supply a
reflex of its exchange value? By no
means, and eloquent is Marx upon the
subject. With labor-power, as with cloth,
the exchange value depends upon the
identical factors, but with labor-power,
differently from cloth, the source of in-
crease or decrease in the supply is differ-
ent. It is not a decreased or increased
quantity of social labor, embodied in the

hurled at the Lovejoys and Garrisons by
the Bourbon South and her putty-face
North. "It will pass," was the confident
prediction when Abolitionists were
tarred and feathered, ridden on rails, and
John Brown hanged.—And yet what a
sorry picture did the then Tafts cut at
Appomattox!

There is a fatality in the word. It may
be nothing but a superstition. But why
tempt the Gods? Our Tafts, if they
would be good to themselves and not
invite stores of woes for their youthful
listeners, should use some other word
than "Crank" against the Movement
that, as sure as fate, is approaching to
seal their doom. Some other word might,
perhaps, conjure away the doom. The
use of the same historic term looks like
a defiant challenge to the Inevitable.

laborer's necessities of life, that raises
or lowers the supply of labor-power. The
supply of labor-power in the market is
affected by causes of different category—
to day the principal cause is the dis-
placement of labor and the expropriation
of the middle class by improved
machinery and methods of production.
These are not transitory, they have be-
come continuous forces. Consequently,
with labor-power, the perturbing cause
is not a casual, it is an abiding pressure.
When bourgeois economists account for
the price of cloth by "supply and de-
mand" they betray the superficial
nature of their science. With cloth, as
with all other commodities, labor-power
excepted, "supply" and "value" hang to-
gether, the former, however, depending
upon the latter. With labor-power, "sup-
ply" and "value" are independent fea-
tures. The perturbing cause of an ever
rising supply operating permanently
upon the exchange value of the mer-
chandise labor-power, the money price
thereof, which is the wages that the
workingman receives, is permanently
lowered; that money price can no longer
coincide with the exchange value of the
merchandise labor-power; the exchange
value of that exceptional commodity can
not, "like water, find its level;" that
exceptional commodity can not "refuse
to exchange for any considerable length
of time except upon a correct basis"—
value for value; that exceptional com-
modity is compelled to exchange upon an
entirely different basis, the basis of
distress. What happens exceptionally
with other commodities is, in "actual
practice," to use Marx's words, the im-
perative rule with labor-power. Of this
radical difference, which arises from the
respective sources of all commodities,
labor-power excepted, on the one side,
and the commodity labor-power, on the
other, the flippant philosopher of the
"Western Clarion" has no inkling, and
the shallowness of his Marxism disables
him from appreciating the weighty so-
ciologic phenomena pointed out by Marx
as the consequence of the difference and
throws him heels over head into his next
"scientific" balderdash.

With the asinine economic theory
that the commodity labor-power ex-
changes value for value as its foundation,
the "scientific" "Western Clarion" raises
a sociologic structure to match. According
to that luminous the struggle of the
Working Class against the Capitalist
Class is "the attempt of workmen to
compel the exchange of their commodity
labor-power for more than its actual
cost in labor time"!!! If the workman
is attempting to secure a wage larger
than the cost in labor time of this com-
modity labor-power, it must follow that
he is now receiving a wage equal to
the cost in labor time of his commodity
labor-power. There would be no Labor
Question to-day, and the "Western
Clarion" could not have sprung up like
a weed, drawing nutriment from that
soil, if that were the case. Whether the
money price, that a workman receives
for his commodity labor-power, be a dol-
lar or a nickel, it would be all one to
him, provided that dollar or nickel re-
presented the exchange value of his ne-
cessaries of life, that is, the exchange
value of his commodity labor-power. If
the exchange value of his necessities of
life, that is, his labor-power, rose and
his price, that is, wages, kept step with
the rise, he would be no better off; nei-
ther would he be the worse off if his price
went down correspondingly with a
declining exchange value of his ne-
cessaries of life. In either case, true or
obedient to the law of the "vis inertiae,"
which rules animate as well as inanimate
nature, he would rest satisfied. The capi-
talist might, by the aid of improved
methods of production, raise his relative
surplus value mountain-high and revel
in proportional luxury, while the work-
man remained where he was, and yet
nothing would be doing. The sight of
affluence not enjoyed by himself, might
kindle envy in the workman's breast,
it might even prompt to theft as a result—
but envy never was and never could be
the goad to a great historic Movement.
That goad, in the instance of the pro-
letarian uprising of our days is a DEC-
LINING STANDARD OF WELL-
BEING. Sociologic theory points to a
declining standard of wellbeing among
the proletariat of the land; statistical
economics substantiate the theory. The
modern class struggle, which manifests
itself in strikes, is not an attempt on
the part of the workman to receive more
than the exchange value of his merchan-
dise labor power; it is the attempt to
resist the persistent pressure of the capi-
talists to make deeper and ever deeper
incursions into the exchange value of his
labor-power. The organized and the un-
organized effort of the Working Class is,
at first, the blind one of seeking to play
at capitalists with their own commodity
labor-power, ignorant of the fact that
such a posture is disastrous to them-
selves: such a posture presumes the ac-
ceptance of the economic laws of capi-
talism: the law of exchange value, to-

gether with its corollary the law of
wages and the law of supply and de-
mand that flows therefrom and "demo-
ralizes" the labor market, marks the
wage-slave Ichabod. Later, when better
schooled by experience, the effort of the
Working Class is to emancipate them-
selves from the yoke of wage
slavery. All the same, whether
still blind, or when enlightened,
that which goads the workman to action
is not a hankering after prices above,
but the necessity to keep the price of his
labor-power from sinking ever deeper
below par. This important cluster of
facts, so essential to the understanding
of Morgan-Marxian sociology and to the
grasping of the momentous issues of the
day, can not choose but be, as it is, a
sealed book to the "scientific" but who
imagines that the laborer receives to-day
the full exchange value of his labor-power.

Finally, the "Western Clarion" caps
the climax saying: "An understanding
of the general proposition affords a suf-
ficient groundwork upon which to base
his [the workman's] action in the strug-
gle for his emancipation." This is a sum-
mary of its previous "scientific" reason-
ing with something more added for good
measure. It is the repetition of the eco-
nomic asininity that, because labor-
power is a commodity, and because cloth
refuses in the long run to exchange
otherwise than value for value, there-
fore labor-power also indulges in the
refusal; and it is a repetition of the
equally asinine sociology that the strug-
gle of Labor in strikes is for wages
above the value of labor-power. Upon
this double-compound of intellectual hash
the complicated filigree is fittingly ad-
ded that such "knowledge" is ample for
"action," and that "these are days for
action"—not for "scientific hairsplit-
ting," such "hairsplitting" being Union-
ism, the opposite of Unionism being
"action"!!

It is clear, though to make any de-
finite or precise statement is not in keep-
ing with the "Western Clarion" style of
"action," that what it means is that the
electric force of the Revolution must,
in order to be effective, be collected in
a political organization only—that, in
the paper's opinion, is "action." Union-
ism is—well, anything but "action."

The Socialist political organization is
no organization for "action," excellent
though it is for propaganda. There is no
political organization, and never was, that
comprises more than an infinitesimal
portion of its followers at the polls.
Nor can any political body be imagined
in which even a bare major fraction of
such followers is within the organization.
This circumstance is a feature of polit-
ical bodies. This feature works no harm
in bourgeois political Movements,
whether for reform or otherwise. It
works no harm because the power to
enforce the political fiat is there in ad-
vance and in force. Consequently, the
"action" required to enforce bourgeois
politics never is wanting when bourgeois
political bodies triumph. It is otherwise
with the politics of the Revolution. Its
power for action has first to be created.
Seeing that such power does not, and
can not lie within the political organiz-
ation, the power has to be gathered out-
side of it. The requisite power outside of
capitalist or bourgeois political bodies
is the economic organization of the capi-
talist class: the requisite power outside
of Labor's political body can be none
other than the economic organization of
the Working Class—the Union. Action,
the action that tells, the action that will
shatter the despotism of Czar Capital—
that action of the Industrial Workers of
the World holds and has proved must
and can be the feat only of that eco-
nomic body of the Working Class which
gathers, and drills, and organizes, and
focuses to a purpose the latent electri-
city of the Revolution. The "action" that
the "Western Clarion" looks to is the
"action" of parliamentarism, the action
of a trifling fraction of the people
organized in a political body, and led by
a still feebler body of elected politicians.

In short, it is the "action" that one might
expect from a gun charged with powder
and to balls—noise and nothing more.
Where except under the cap and bells,
could hope in such scatterbrained "ac-
tion" find lodgment?
Next to pure and simple Unionism,
the science in cap and bells on which
the "Western Clarion" rears its pure
and simple political Socialism must be
dearest to the capitalist heart.

"May," say the news despatches,
"looms with events for Europe." So
does it loom with events for the United
States; for during May, the Moyer-
Haywood trials will begin. On their
outcome will depend much of the future
of American society. They will deter-
mine whether the capitalist class will
recede from its infamous course against
labor, or labor will be forced to revolt
in order to assert its rights.

Watch the label on your paper. The
will tell you when your subscription ex-
pires. First number indicates the month,
second, the day, third the year.

LETTER BOX

S. D., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—There
is no such thing as "the vow of poverty."
What usually goes by that name is a
"vow" that insures to the taker of the
"vow" three square meals, clothing,
wash, fuel and shelter—a good deal more
than the average human being enjoys
under capitalism.

F. J., CLEVELAND, O.—Wherever
a stuffee is found, there will be found
a man to whom it is pleasing to be
stuffed. This is but an application of the
Carlylian principle that "dupe and
knave are obverse and reverse of the
same medal."

J. H. B., PITTSBURG, PA.—The ad-
vantages for instruction that capitalism
offers the workingman are mainly in-
tended in the way that sheep raisers
offer advantages to their sheep—so the
sheep may yield more wool for the
fleece to fleece. For all that, the work-
ingman should avail himself of all such
advantages that the capitalists offer. He
is entitled to them all. It is only a
small return for the plunder upon him.
Only, he should use such advantages to
equip himself for emancipation.

C. A. P., CHLORIDE, ARIZ.—The
cause of the split in the S. L. P. in 1899
was that one set believed in revolution-
ary Unionism and another set believed
in acting as candle-holders for Gompers-
ism. The latter set pulled out and it
humbled the Debs Movement, which
had just started in the West, into taking
them in, and the two formed the S. P.
Since then that Gompers set have been
seeking to drag the Debs Movement
down to their level. That the genuine
Debs Movement is getting "onto" them
appears from the stand Debs himself
has taken on the theory of "exclusive
boring from within," and the steady run
of first class material from the S. P.
into the S. L. P.

A. A. D. P., CANTON, O.—The dif-
ference between the I. W. W. and the
K. of L. is vast. The K. of L. was no
more an industrial organization than are
the A. F. of L. Unions that embrace
more than one trade. The K. of L.
sought, just as the A. F. of L., to recon-
cile Capital and Labor." A few dis-
connected utterances apart, the K. of L.
was bourgeois radical. It talked about
"bringing the producer and the consumer
together." May cover the subject more
fully by article.

J. F. V. T., WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
The criticisms of Marx by Van Buren
Denslow show he has not studied Marx.
Marx does not claim value is an indis-
pensable result of labor, as the Professor
alleges.

First of all, Marx expressly shows that
labor bestowed upon matter that has no
use-value, and also labor expended in
amounts larger than socially necessary,
does not determine value in the market.
Secondly, the very first line of "Cap-
ital" limits the subject to "commodities."
That defines the field—the staples of pro-
duction, next, the things that civilized
man needs. Antiquated guns and cast-
off skins of animals in the Zoo are no
such staples. The professor was, on this
head, answered in advance by Marx's
answer to Prudhomme—"The Misery of
Philosophy." In fact he was answered
even earlier by Ricardo.—Next points
next week.

A. J. L., NEW YORK.—It is time
wasted to attempt to convert the old
cigarmaker Simon, like Berlyn of Chi-
cago and such others, to the I. W. W.
Their horizon is limited by the safety
of their coffin, which the Gompers cig-
armakers' Union guarantees to them.
Nothing but the actual Revolution will
raise such people out of and above the
soot into which they have worked them-
selves. The blows, withheld from such
people in the idle hope that they may be
converted, only delay the conversion of
others who are convertible and who
would be kept in the dark, were it not
for the blows dealt to the incurables.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN—
Wait till next week for answers. No
time this week.

R. L. M., PITTSBURG, PA.; F. O.
LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.; O. N.
M., WILMERDING, PA.; J. V., MIL-
WAUKEE, WIS.; A. M., ROCHESTER,
N. Y.; C. F. D., SPOKANE,
WASH.; L. F., YOKOHOMA,
JAPAN; A. R., FARGO, S. D.; W.
S., HARTFORD, CONN.—Matter re-
ceived.

The San Francisco bankers plan to
borrow \$100,000,000 from the Federal
Treasury at 2 per cent. When the
farmers, overloaded with mortgages,
in the early '90's, demanded sub-treasury
loans on the same basis, these same
bankers howled "Socialism", in order
that the financiers might continue to
fleece the farmers. It is capitalist
philosophy to use misfortune for capi-
talist profit. This is it that gives con-
sistency to their apparent inconsistency.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I've got you
Socialists at last!

UNCLE SAM—You might have got us
at first, perhaps—perhaps—if you had
tried it sooner.

B. J.—No joking, I have got ye.

U. S.—How?

B. J.—I'll tell ye. And I'll also tell ye
how at one fell swoop I'm going to get
even with you. You have been calling
me all manner of names—"noodle,"
"lunkhead"—

U. S.—"Donkey"—

B. J.—Yes, "donkey," too; and heaven
only knows what else. Now, I'm going
to soak all that back to ye.

U. S.—I'm ready. If you are right I'll
cry "Hold!"

B. J.—Didn't you say the other day at
a meeting that in the Indian commu-
nities property was held in common?

U. S.—I did.

B. J.—And didn't you say that Social-
ism aimed at the same thing?

U. S.—I did, in so far as the land and
the tools of production are concerned.

B. J.—Even so. Common property, in
tools of production and land.

U. S.—(with a wink)—Yep!

B. J.—And there's where I got you.
You want to bring us back to the con-
dition of the Indian. Your Socialism is
nothing but reaction, barbarism, sav-
agery, death to civilization, and you are
a "noodle," a—

U. S.—Was that your grind?

B. J.—Yes. Get out of it if you can't!

U. S.—According to your reasoning, a
change that adopts anything that in-
vades and ceases to be reaction and com-
munity to civilization; is that it?

B. J.—Yes; and seeing that which

U. S.—Never mind the India error

now; stick to my line of argument—
under capitalism, we have the
dividual system of ownership of the

haven't we?

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—And is Your Noodleship aware
of the fact that that was exactly the
system of ownership that prevailed under
SAVAGERY, that is to say, a stage
of human progress that PRECEDED that
of the Indian?

B. J.—Wh—wh—what!

U. S.—Yes, sir. It would follow, from
your way of reasoning, that Capitalism,
being with its system of private owner-
ship akin to savagery, is not civiliza-
tion, and that, even if it were true,
which is not, that Socialism walked back
to the status of the Indian, Socialism
would be progress compared with Cap-
italism, which stands on the savage
plane, the pre-Indian plane, of private
ownership. Eh? (Poking B. J. in the
ribs).

B. J. takes out a square yard of hand-
kerchief, takes off his hat, mops the per-
piration off his head and face, and
wriggles out the water, which runs off in a
stream.

HOW TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST LA-
BOR PARTY.

All persons desiring to attach them-
selves to the Socialist Labor Party, ei-
ther by the formation of a local organiza-
tion known as a "Section", or by joining
as members at large, may proceed as
follows:

1. Seven or more persons may form a
"Section", provided they subscribe to the
platform and constitution of the S. L.
P., belong to no other political party
and are not officers of a pure and simple
trade or labor organization.

2. Isolated persons, unable to find six
others to join with them in organiz-
ing a "Section", but desiring to become
members, may do so by becoming mem-
bers at large upon signing an applica-
tion card, subscribing thereon to the
platform and constitution of the S. L. P.
and answering other questions on said
application card.

For application blanks to be used in
the formation of "Sections" and ap-
plication cards for the use of in-
dividual members as well as all other in-
formation apply to the undersigned.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary,
2-6 New Reade Street, New York
(Box 1576).

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

"VALUE", "WAGES", AND OTHER THINGS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—You may imagine my astonishment to find in last week's "Worker" almost two of that paper's long columns taken up with an alleged answer by Mr. Lucien Sanial to the cogent critique made by the Daily People of March 27, of poster No. 2, issued by the International Institute of Social Science. The critique made by the Daily People was borne out by the facts quoted from the poster, as myself and friends compared them, and they are substantiated by Marxian doctrine in economics and sociology, well expounded in numerous articles in the Daily People, and almost every week illustrated by some lucid Letter Box answer to some correspondent or other. Among these articles I have a distinct recollection of a recent one, entitled "Science in Cap and Bells". The article laid out another bogus Marxian economist somewhere out West, who paraded the identical error pointed out in the poster, and held the same error that this Mr. Sanial now holds on the subject of the "Value of Labor Power" and "Wages". I remember that the article showed the intimate relation that there is between sound economic theory and practical work. It enabled me to understand the Union Movement, the reason for which had never before been clear to me. That article appeared in the Daily People some time during December, as near as I can recollect. The article handled the "value" and the "price" of labor, or wages, and it proved conclusively by a passage from Marx the difference between the value and the price of labor, the reason for the difference, and the serious mistake in tactics that results from not knowing the difference. The answer of Mr. Sanial, who seems to be the International Institute of Social Science, is about the most brazen affront I have yet seen offered to sense and decency. The man puts lies in Marx's mouth, he lies about what his own poster contains, he lies about the critique in the Daily People, and he fairly revels in personal abuse and mudslinging. You may think that the nauseating mudslinging in the answer will be sufficient warning against the errors that it preaches. Perhaps you are right about that. The man reminds me of those mendicants one sees occasionally along the street exhibiting some disgusting-looking ulcer to the wayfarer. His whole answer, you may say, is but such an exhibition of an ulcer that is eating him up. I would, all the same, request you, for the sake of the importance of the issue involved in the matter of the difference between the value of labor and wages, to give the man a thorough drubbing. But if you will not do that, I request the reproduction of the article "Science in Cap and Bells." The cap and bells fit and they should ornament the "International Institute of Social Science."

New York, April 24.

W. W.

[Our correspondent is right. The scientific fact that the exchange value of labor-power and the wages received by our workmen, that is, the price that their labor-power fetches in practice, are fundamentally different, is a fact of grave practical importance—especially in these days of Union reconstruction. In deference to this fact The People accedes fully to our correspondent's request to reproduce the article "Science in Cap and Bells" from the Daily People of last December 8, Weekly December 16th; The People also accedes, though only in part, to our correspondent's other request that we take up the answers made to The People's criticism by the gentleman who has expanded his name into "International Institute of Social Science."

The People's criticisms were three in number. We shall reproduce each, so far, however, as these answers can be picked up with a pair of tongs out of the mire of coarse vituperation in which they are imbedded, and subjoin The People's reply to each.

I.

The People's first criticism ran as follows: "The wages received by the workmen (census 1900) are made to appear in the poster as part of the 'Total VALUE of labor power used in production.' The including of 'wages' in the term 'VALUE of labor power' is false economics. The error is all the more serious seeing that, of the amount (\$5,315,000,000) denominated 'Total value of labor power used in production,' more than two-thirds (4,120,000,000) are admittedly wages. Even if the remaining less than one-third (1,225,000,000) given as the 'value of labor in the product

of farmers, farm tenants, artisans, shopkeepers, etc., be correctly estimated and be correctly called 'VALUE of labor,' the gross of the total (\$5,315,000,000) no wise belongs under the category of 'value' of labor power, they are the 'price' of labor power in the labor market. The mistaking or jumbling the 'value' of labor power for or together with the 'price' of labor power is a nest from which a swarm of errors of reasoning flow daily. The error can not be too carefully guarded against. The error recurs throughout that poster. Marx, realizing the serious importance of the distinction, is exhaustively explicit on the fact that what, in practice, the wage slave gets is, not the VALUE of his labor power, but the PRICE of his labor power. American capitalism is the thing in practice."

The answer to the above is introduced with the prelude that the above language "is a jumble of meaningless sentences—which, if they do not reflect the critic's own cloudiness of mind and consequent impotency of expression, must have been thrown in to confuse the reader," and then proceeds to set forth as follows:

"Marx 'exhaustively' and 'explicitly' in all his utterances on Price and Value, repudiates this absurd and unique misrepresentation of his great theory. He teaches:

"As regards exchange-value—That 'the values of commodities are determined by the relative quantities of Necessary Social Labor embodied in them'

"As regards labor-power—That under capitalism the working power that can be made to flow from the human being is also a commodity—and, as such, is subject to the Law of Value and all its corollaries. Its value therefore, is determined by the amount of social labor embodied in the necessities required to produce and maintain it. . . . And since Marx has established beyond dispute that on an average Price and Value coincide, it is manifestly absurd to say, as De Leon does, that what the wage worker gets is not the value but the price of his labor power. He gets the exact value in money and with the money gets the value in necessities."

The People's reply to this is:

The reader is invited to open "Capital" at the Chapter 12, Part IV—"The Concept of Relative Surplus-Value." Marx is there elucidating the abstract workings of capitalism in its upward development, unaffected by any perturbing causes. He has shown before whence profits proceed. To make his point clear he has assumed—and expressly stated it is a mere assumption—that the capitalist pays in money the full value for the elements of production, that is, labor-power, as well as raw material, etc.; and he has shown that the capitalist derives profit, even after paying the full value of labor-power, by reason of the use-value, or quality, of the commodity labor-power, that quality being the yielding of more value (surplus value) than its own exchange value amounts to. Capitalism is thus analyzed at its state of statics—rest. Beginning with the said chapter 12, Marx considers capitalism in its state of dynamics—its stage of progression. He there assumes a constant work-day of 12 hours, he assumes 10 of these 12 hours to be the equivalent of the labor time necessary to produce the value of the labor-power that the capitalist paid for, and he shows that, then, there would be only 2 hours left for the workmen to produce surplus value for the capitalist. He then asks: "How can the production of 'surplus value' be increased?" Still proceeding upon his assumption that the capitalist pays value for value, Marx answers the question by saying that, seeing that the amount of surplus value is ascertained by deducting the necessary labor-time from the total working day, it follows that an increase of surplus value must of necessity originate in the curtailment of the necessary labor-time, and that that would require a decline in the exchange value of the necessities of life which go to determine the value of labor power. Consequently, the capitalist must and does revolutionize the technical and social conditions of those branches of industry, whose products determine the value of labor-power, and thereby steadily revolutionizes the whole system of production. The cheapening of goods, needed by the workman, reduces the exchange value of his labor-power; the reduction of the exchange value of his labor power reduces, in turn, the labor-time needed for him to reproduce his own exchange value; and thus the difference between that necessary labor-time and the working day leaves a larger number of hours for the production of surplus value for the capitalist. In the midst, however, of the elaboration

of this abstract line of theory Marx breaks off and pauses to utter a warning. A monumental fact stood before his clear eyes—the historic fact that, in its headlong career for increased surplus value, the capitalist class does not IN PRACTICE, wait for the cheapening of goods to cheapen the value of labor-power before it pays a lower wage to its workmen—the towering historic fact with all its economic bearings that, IN PRACTICE, the capitalist class takes an "active hand in evolution" by ever anticipating a lower value of labor power through the paying of a wage, or money price, below the value of labor at any given period, and artificially producing the conditions that compel the workman to submit to a lower and ever lower standard of living. No doubt there also stood before Marx's all-embracing mind, the experience of the readiness of untrained minds to seize upon a theory, proceed from it regardless of serious, modifying circumstances, and indulge in the affectation of scientific profundity by a mere display of mechanical reasoning, that leads to egregious error. With these towering facts and experience rising before him, Marx paused, pointed warningly to the fact that in the supposed constant working day of 12 hours, the capitalist could also increase his surplus value "by lowering the wages of the laborer BELOW THE VALUE OF HIS LABOR-POWER," and he added—"DESPITE THE IMPORTANT PART THAT THIS METHOD PLAYS IN ACTUAL PRACTICE we are excluded from considering it at THIS PLACE by our assumption"—an assumption under which, at that place, during the abstract consideration of the theory of relative surplus-value, he is only temporarily proceeding—"that all commodities, including labor-power, are bought and sold at their full value" (p. 302, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., edition of 1896).

Nor did Marx forget the implied promise of dealing at another and later place with the "IMPORTANT PART" that the paying of a money price, or wages, "BELOW THE VALUE OF LABOR-POWER" plays "IN ACTUAL PRACTICE." Never before and never since Marx, especially in Part VIII of "Capital," has the method that plays so "important a part" in "actual practice" been so graphically sketched. The majestic and tragic procession is taken up from its historic start, so that we can follow up the process, after Marx closed his eyes in death, down to our own immediate days. The artificial production of the unemployed—brought about at first with the aid of fog and sword, carried on later by a variety of schemes, colonization, among others, and practiced to this day under covert and subtle yet practically equally cruel and high-handed devices, such as the decoying of workmen to America,—has enabled and continues to enable the capitalist to create, through an excess of supply of labor-power, a condition of things, that, in practice, enables the capitalist class to purchase the commodity labor-power at a price ever lower than its value, lower than what theoretically the workman's sinking status might, at any given period, seem to indicate as the value of his labor-power.

Nor yet did Marx stop, at this latter stage of his inquiry, at the consideration of the mere economic aspect of the question. He projected himself into its practical bearing. On page 789 the certain "revolt of the working class" is not deduced from a mere disparity between what the workman receives as the value of his labor-power and the towering surplus that that labor-power yields, it is deduced from the PROGRESSIVE USURPATIONS by the capitalist, thereby causing the DEEPENING OF THE MISERY OF THE WORKING CLASS, in other words, it is caused by the ever lowering of the wages, below the exchange-value of labor-power. Misery could not otherwise deepen.

Clear though his argument is on this head, Marx does not yet rest satisfied. He is even more pointedly clear upon the denial that, with the commodity labor-power, "price" and "value" coincide in the long run, as they do with all other commodities; he is even more pointedly outspoken upon the fact that they do not so coincide. The following passage occurs on page 66 of his address to workmen entitled "Value, Price and Profit":

"I may answer by a generalization, and say that, as with all other commodities, so with labor, its MARKET PRICE will, in the long run, adapt itself to its VALUE. . . . BUT THERE ARE SOME PECULIAR FEATURES WHICH DISTINGUISH THE VALUE OF LABORING POWER, OR THE VALUE OF LABOR, FROM THE VALUES OF ALL OTHER COMMODITIES." The striking contrast, into which this sentence throws the "generalization" with the "actual practice," settles the point. The rest of the passage elaborates the "peculiarities" of the commodity labor-power. The argument there is the obverse of the historic analysis found in Part VIII of "Capital". The claim that the lowering

price, fetched by the commodity labor-power in the labor market due to the creation by the capitalist class, of conditions, at first artificially started and since then running their course, whereby the workman's standard of living is steadily depreciated—the claim that such a lowering price is exactly like the lowering price of all other commodities, and that the steadily reduced standard of living of the working class determines the value of its exchange value—in short, the claim that what happens with all other commodities is exactly what happens with the commodity labor-power, in the long run its "price" averages its "value"—such a claim appeals to the scorn alike of science and of common sense.

To sum up:—The price of commodities averages in the long run their exchange value. Labor-power is a commodity. As such it partakes, of many a feature of other commodities. False, however, is the statement that labor-power is "subject to the Law of Value and all its corollaries" to which all other commodities are subject. As a generalization it is useful to assume 'the identity, in the long run, of the value of labor-power with its price, as is the case with other commodities. The assumption is needed to establish the principle of surplus value in its theoretic purity. The "PECULIAR FEATURES", however, of the commodity labor-power take it, "IN ACTUAL PRACTICE", outside of the law of value to which all other commodities are subject. The price of a yard of calico may oscillate above and below its exchange value; in the long run, in its instance, price will average value. Otherwise, however, with labor power—"IN ACTUAL PRACTICE", the capitalist method of paying below the value of labor-power plays so "IMPORTANT A PART" that whatever oscillations there may be in the price, the oscillations rarely rise above the water-mark of value. They take place beneath that water-mark, and they tend ever lower. The reason for this phenomenon IN ACTUAL PRACTICE is that the "PECULIAR FEATURES" of labor-power lie in that upon it alone, out of the whole range of commodities, the scores of causes, that PERIODICALLY affect adversely the price of other commodities, may, with substantial accuracy, be said to press PERMANENTLY upon the commodity labor-power. In the article "Science in Cap and Bells", republished upon request in this issue, an important one of these causes is treated. Finally, and as the pregnant result, worth all the time that may be devoted to what may seem too abstract a scientific question for practical purposes,—THERE WOULD BE NO LABOR MOVEMENT, AND UNIONISM WOULD BE AN ABSURDITY, but for the fact that the price of the merchandise labor-power steadily tends below its exchange value. As shown in the article "Science in Cap and Bells", the mere lowering of the money expression of the value of labor-power would not affect the status of the working class. The law of the "vis inertiae" would keep the working class contented. The continuance of its status, through its receiving its "exact value," might arouse sporadic envy at the towering affluence, that, through the rise of surplus value, it yields to the capitalist. Revolt never. In the very fact that the status of the working class is lowered, in the very fact that its earnings steadily tend below its value—IN THAT FACT LIES THE ASSURANCE OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS—IN THAT FACT LIES THE INDISTRICTABILITY OF UNIONISM, the notion of the destructibility, or eventual wearing out of which is the broken reed on which pure and simple political Socialism leans.

Finally, the language of Marx on the subject is explicit, not only in what may be termed his "code of thought", but also in what may be termed his "code of action". Proceeding from the view point of the supreme practical importance of the subject, Marx branches off for a moment from the question of economics to that of Unionism, or the economic organization of Labor, and he drops by the way two thoughts, which, couched in his habitually careful and incisive language, may be fittingly cited as the close of this argument. On page 74 of "Value, Price and Profit," already quoted from, this statement occurs:

The general tendency of capitalist production is "TO SINK THE AVERAGE STANDARD OF WAGES."—"To sink" the average "standard of wages"? By "the average standard of wages" nothing else can be meant but the "value of labor-power." The standard of wages could not "sink" if labor power received, in the long run, the exact money price of its value. No scientific economist would ever think of saying that a lower price, fetched by a yard of calico or a pork-chop, "sank" its "average standard of value." With all commodities, labor-power excepted, their "average standard of value" is unsinkable.

And then this second statement:

The trades Unions are "centers of resistance against THE ENCROACHMENTS OF CAPITAL."—"Encroach-

ments of capital"? Capital can commit no "encroachment" upon the workman except by paying for labor-power, in the long run, less than its value. No scientific economist would ever think of saying that the purchaser who paid a lowering price for a yard of calico or a pork-chop "encroached" upon it. With all commodities, labor-power excepted, their value, in the long run, is a thing unencroachable upon.

The edition of the pamphlet from which these two passages are quoted, and from which we quoted before Marx's pointed denial of the claim that the same as with all other commodities, the "price" of labor-power will "in the long run" be found to "adapt itself to its value"—that edition was issued by the Socialist Labor Party about five years ago; we notice the pamphlet is preceded by an introduction, written by the "International Institute of Social Science." Did the "International Institute of Social Science" not even read the work which it wrote an introduction to? Or did the "International Institute of Social Science" read the work, but the information that the work conveyed ran through its head like water runs through a sieve?

The "International Institute of Social Science" considers The People's language on the subject of the "price" and the "value" of labor-power "a jumble of meaningless sentences." No language is meaningful to him who has no grasp of the subject.

II.

The People's second criticism was as follows:

"The 'share of productive labor in its product' (census 1900) is given in the poster as 23.74 per cent. This is another serious economic error. Statistical tables, intended to portray the amount to which labor is exploited, limp fatally if they stop at the figures for wages received. They must be accompanied by the retail price that labor has to pay with those same wages for the goods that it consumes. The wages paid to labor in the factory to produce a yard of calico will not purchase a yard of the same stuff at retail. Veritable mare's nests do those tumble into who overlook this fact. It is an error that leads directly to the populist mistake of looking at money regardless of its purchasing power. When the purchasing power is considered of the 23.74 per cent. of the share that productive labor receives as wages in the shop, that purchasing power will be found to be between 17-18 per cent. of labor's product—and THAT IS THE REAL SHARE OF LABOR IN ITS PRODUCT."

The answer to the above runs this wise:

"We may now make short work of the remarkable 'criticism' under review. It is a gem of barefaced dishonesty; too stupid-looking, indeed, in its nakedness, to be entirely taken for mere stupidity.

"All those who have looked over the poster, even cursorily, may well ask themselves: 'Has this critic read it? Can he read figures at all? Or does he expect that the readers of it will be blind as he is or wishes them to be?'

"Observe that the estimate of the amount added on the retail market to the wholesale price of the product figures in bold type in the statistical table of the poster for the large sum of \$6,500,000,000 (six and a half billion dollars), which actually represents an average increase of about 50 per cent. over the wholesale prices of all the products that reach the retail market."

"Yet, having before his eyes the total value of productive labor-power on one side, and on the other side the total value of production, including that portion of it which is sold at retail prices, this unique arithmetician reads to the author of the Socialist poster the following lecture, which, by the way, he had first learned verbatim seventeen years ago from the author himself: 'Statistical tables, intended to portray the amount to which labor is exploited, limp fatally if they stop at the figures of the wages received. They must be accompanied by the retail price that labor has to pay with these same wages for the goods that it consumes. The wages paid to labor in the factory to produce a yard of calico will not purchase a yard of the same stuff in retail.'

"As already intimated, this public posing of De Leon, in the matter of retail prices, as the teacher of the man who taught him, is a characteristic piece of impudence."

The People's reply to this is:

1st, As to the side question raised by the answer.—As may be judged from our reply to the first answer, it would matters stand with us if, indeed, the fountain of our Socialism were the "International Institute of Social Science". If, indeed, such were the fountain of our Marxism, then we would be to-day where the "International Institute of Social Science" is—floundering about, unable to determine where North or South, East or West lie on the sociologic chart; and, inversely, the "International Institute of Social Science" would still be where

we are to-day—still at its old post of Editor of The People, from which it partly dropped itself, and partly was dropped as incompetent. As every student of Marx knows, Marx does not stop at the role that exploitation plays in the factory; that is the central point of his elaboration. Innumerable, however, are the sparkling hints that, in foot-notes and text, he throws out upon the role that exploitation plays in secondary methods and degrees. Fully a dozen pamphlets, if not books, could be written upon these sub-heads. The role that exploitation plays against the workman on the field of retail, is one of these many subjects taught by Marx himself.

2nd, As to the real question.—The answer is a dodge. The gravamen of the error, of the only error, pointed out by the criticism, is the 23.74 per cent. given in the poster as the "share of productive labor in its product." That figure the criticism called a "serious economic error"; the criticism opens with that point, and closes with the correction that, not 23.74 per cent., but from 17-18 per cent. is "the real share of labor in its product." The point is left unanswered in the "answer"—unless it be an answer to spend time refuting criticisms that were not made. The criticism indicates the reason why the 23.74 per cent. alleged to be the "share of productive labor in its product" is wrong. The reason indicated is that figures, intended to portray the amount of which labor is exploited, limp fatally if not accompanied by the retail price that the working class has to pay for its cost of living. That reasoning is left unanswered in the "answer"—unless any estimate of the cost of living, however defective the estimate, can be said to remove the limp from the conclusion as to the real rate of exploitation. The only answer, that would have been an answer to the criticism against the 23.74 per cent. "share of labor in its product", would have been the attempt to justify the six and a half billion dollars given in the poster as the estimate of the cost of living. Such attempt, however unsuccessful, would at least have been straightforward. It would have "joined issue." No such attempt was made. Indeed, it would have failed ludicrously. A glance at pages 14-19 of the second edition of the address on "The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World", together with the note attached thereto on page 49, will reveal the serious omissions—beginning with the ominous item of rent—from the poster's six and a half billion estimate of the cost of living. There was a time when the one redeeming feature of the "International Institute of Social Science" was the accuracy, even brilliancy of its statistical work. For the sake of that, the Socialist Labor Party bore with its otherwise worthless. Manifestly, and sorrowful to say, the "International Institute of Social Science" has degenerated even from its one-time only virtue.

III.

Finally, The People's third criticism was as follows:

"The poster distinguishes between 'a primary market, where the product, consisting chiefly in raw materials, is sold at the places of production', and 'a wholesale market, where the product, consisting partly in materials and partly in finished articles, is sold in large blocks.' The distinction is whimsical and misleading. There is no such distinction in fact. Bales of calico (manufacture) are sold 'at the places of production' as well as bales of cotton (raw material); and bales of cotton (raw material) are sold 'in large blocks' as well as bales of calico (manufacture). The fact is that, outside of the retail shops, both raw material and manufacture are sold

in a wholesale market, THE WORLD'S MARKET, AT THE WORLD'S MARKET PRICES. The distinction attempted in the poster is unscientific; it belies the international feature of 'value' and 'price' at this advanced stage of capitalism—a feature, the over-looking of which, likewise leads into economic and utopian mare's nests untold."

The answer to the above runs this wise:

"The third and last paragraph of the 'criticism' is hardly worth noticing at all. It is a dishonest attempt to discredit, before its appearance, the explanatory pamphlet announced in the poster. But in talking at random of the world's market and summarily dismissing as unworthy of consideration the very commercial facts which, examined in their true light, verify the Marxist law of value, the critic displays a gross ignorance of the process through which the capitalist class, as a body (that is, including the retailers, whom he conveniently places 'outside') realizes and divides among its members the surplus created by labor and appropriated by its direct and indirect exploiters."

The People's reply to this is:

1st, Our correspondent did not exaggerate, or yield to indignation, when he charged the "International Institute of Social Science" with a disregard of the truth as to what its poster really says. Its poster does not say that the pamphlet, referred to in the answer is yet to appear. Its language is: "Of these three Markets, as a battle field on which the capitalists must fight each other for a share in the spoils of labor, a comprehensive view IS GIVEN in the small PAMPHLET ISSUED by the International Institute of Social Science on the Production and Distribution of Wealth", (the underlinings are ours). If, indeed, there could be anything in a charge of dishonesty on the score of criticising a pamphlet ahead of its appearance, even though the criticism is on the principle that the pamphlet is announced in advance to uphold, then the dishonesty must be manifest with him who (supposing he spoke the truth when he announced the pamphlet as in existence) grounds the charge upon the false allegation that the said pamphlet has not yet appeared, or who (supposing he now tells the truth and the pamphlet has not yet appeared) claimed before that it had.

2nd, Aside from such peccadillos, typical of the mold in which the whole "answer" is cast, and whether the alleged pamphlet exists or is still to be born, novel is the implied theory that a pamphlet, which is promised to give a comprehensive elaboration of an error, can by any possibility cure the error which it promises comprehensively to elaborate. Common-sense says that the error will be multiplied. The attempted distinction between the wholesale markets of raw material and of manufacture, on the ground that, in the one, the sales are "in large blocks", and, in the other, the sales are "at the places of production" is, and remains without foundation in fact, whimsical, unscientific, therefore, misleading.

3rd, As to the reference to the Marxian law of value, made to bolster up the whimsicality, nothing need here be added. The "International Institute of Social Science's" grasp of Marx's Law of Value has been covered in our first reply.

Such were the answers to The People's three criticisms. The rest of the "answer," that is, more than one-half of the whole, is wholly taken up with coarse vituperation. The People declines to follow the "International Institute of Social Science" into the gutter. The "International Institute of Social Science" can have the gutter—with itself as "the only logical central" spot thereof—all to itself.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

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To our Readers and Friends:

The letter printed below, written by the California member of the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, speaks for itself:

Fruitvale, Cal., April 20, 11 a. m.
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, S. L. P.
2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

Dear comrade:—About all our San Francisco comrades are homeless and penniless by this time. Some must be injured and it will be nothing short of a miracle if some have not been killed. We have, so far, no knowledge of any dead. Report has it that McGinty had a leg crushed. But all are homeless, that much is certain and we must help them. Please call for financial aid and send what you get to me as the member of the N. E. C. and the Financial Secretary of the I. W. W. local.

People are pouring into Oakland by the thousands. So far Holmes, Speed, F. Jordan, Meyers and Shankin have reported at S. P. headquarters. I can get camps for many out here, but we shall need help. I have undertaken to help the best I can the women and children of comrades. They must be gotten out of the worst predicament.

Fraternally,
Olive M. Johnson.

There is little to be said in addition, the San Francisco horror being so thoroughly understood by the whole nation. All that is to be said is that action should be speedy. Send what you want to give to the undersigned. Acknowledgment will be made in the Sunday and in the Weekly People. Make all money orders, checks, etc., payable to:

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Collected through "Arbetaren" office from: Mrs. Nils Malmberg, \$3; L. Meishecke, \$2; Albin Youngquist, \$2; E. Lund, \$1; A. Olson, \$1; A. H. Lyzell, \$50; C. J. Bjorklund, \$50; G. Grant, \$50	10.00
H. B. Friedman, New York	.50
Albert Johnson, Unionport, N. Y.	2.00
"Carrier", New York City	1.50
Hungarian May Day Celebration, N. Y. City	3.00
P. Thompson, New York	1.00
George Scher, Danbury, Conn.	1.00
James Smith, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Alvan S. Brown, Brooklyn, N. Y.	10.00
Grand total	\$252.75

IN "FRISCO'S HORROR.

(Continued from page 1.)

still burning city in front of our eyes. So, good by, dear old 'Frisco.
Fred Sibert.

JANE ROULSTON SAFE.

Friend of S. L. P. Slightly Hurt—Lost Everything in 'Frisco Horror.

San Francisco, April 21.—Your far-away friend came very near going far-away, indeed. I am glad I am alive to write to you—very glad. The scenes of horror and devastation of the last few days are beyond description; but I am alive and only a little hurt (just one foot and one arm, and I am walking about, all right, already, the injury was so slight). The large building in which I lived on the fourth floor collapsed with the earthquake. I escaped as by a miracle. We all got out before the fire attacked the building. In other structures they were not so fortunate. It has been too terrible! Most of the city is camped on the beach and in the park. The place is under martial law. I am with friends, and comfortable. I have lost everything, though. I have no way of hearing from the I. W. W. or S. L. P. men. That part of the city is in ashes and the soldiers will not let any one pass.

Jane A. Roulston,
1536 Grove Street,
San Francisco.

TO ORGANIZE IN ALLEGHENY.

We are going to organize a branch of the S. L. P. in Allegheny on Saturday, May 5, 8 p. m., at 407 East Ohio street, second floor. All those who desire to join are respectfully invited to attend.

Chas. Schnaweits, Organizer,
Chas. Schnaweits, Organizer,

N. Y. S. E. C.

Regular meeting at headquarters, Daily People Building, 2-6 New Reade street, on Friday, April 27.—More in chair; Pierson absent.

Communications: From Binghamton (2), Utica, Newburgh and Yonkers on matter of notaries. All referred to Correspondence Bureau. From John E. Wallace, telegram and letter of acceptance.

Secretary reported petition lists were printed and sent to Sections throughout the State. It was decided to have a special session on May 4th, to take up and conclude matter of securing signatures. It was also decided to begin the tour of State Organizer Rudolph Katz, on the second Monday in May. The details of this tour will also be taken at the special session of May 4. Sections freinds, sympathizers and party members are urged to contribute to the State Agitation Fund, in order that this, and another tour contemplated, may be a success.

The Correspondence Bureau rendered a report showing the number of Sections with notaries. The list is complete, with a few exceptions that promise to materialize. After reviewing the report, the meeting adjourned.

J. Ebert, Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with Saturday, April 28, the following contributions were received to the above fund: Wm. J. Oberding, Goldfield, Nev. \$20.00; Oswald Hopfner, Metuchen, N. J. 1.00; French Branch, balance Lemmonier funeral fund 1.00; A. J. Francis, com. on Weekly People subs. 1.00; Carl Oberheuer, Atchinson, Kans. 1.00; Goe, Woker, New York 1.00; Section Roanoke, Va., John Goodman, \$2.50; W. T. Welsh, \$3.50; J. Urik, \$3.50; J. E. Schmidt, \$2.50; Edward Smith, \$2; 14.00; Fred Hofman, Mohrtrose, Colo. 4.00; Herman Lebahn, Montrose, Colo. 1.00

Total \$44.50
Previously acknowledged \$2,586.11

Grand total \$2,630.61
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONIST FUND.

The following contributions were received during the week ending with Saturday, April 28:
Louis Whitlaw, New York \$1.00
Henry Grimmerger, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2.00

Total \$3.00
Previously acknowledged \$2,574.79

Grand total \$2,577.79
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

WORKINGMEN AROUSE!

THESE ARE STIRRING TIMES IN THE WORLD OF LABOR. THE CAPITALISTS OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES HOPE TO DESTROY WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION. THAT IS THE SECRET OF THE ARREST OF

Moyer & Haywood

The trial of our brothers will begin May 15th. The DAILY PEOPLE will have a special representative at the trial. Every reader of the Weekly should take the Daily for three months.

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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE LAND OF BIG FARMS AND BIG MONOPOLIES.

One of the First Runs Through Three States—One of the Second Owns Kern County and Kern River—Conditions Little Better than Peonage for Employees.

(Special Correspondence.)

Phoenix, Ariz., April 24.—In my last letter to The People from Northern California I referred to the concentration of the natural and social opportunities of that section into the hands of a few big capitalists, with the consequent removal of all hope of "advancement" for the working class. A few additional facts gathered on my tour of Southern California will prove of interest in that connection.

The great valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, extending north and south for more than six hundred miles through the center of California, are practically owned by two or three capitalist concerns. A land grant from Congress in the 60's gave the Southern Pacific Railroad Company a huge slice of this territory, at the same time reducing to tenants or hurling down into the working class a host of settlers who had been hugging the good American delusion of "independence." Simultaneously, other capitalist concerns were reaching out after and gathering in the remaining areas of agricultural, timber, and mineral resources. Among these rivals of the Southern Pacific corporation stands pre-eminent the firm of Miller & Lux, whose possessions range through the three States of California, Oregon and Washington, and are estimated to cover an area of 14,000,000 acres. It is a common saying in California that Mr. Miller, the surviving member of the firm, if he chose, might start on an overland journey from a point in Southern California and in due season arrive in Central Washington without once being under the necessity of getting "off the grass" of his own State.

Another capitalist concern that has a good start on the average workingman of that locality is the Kern County Land Company, whose headquarters are at Bakersfield. This company was formed about thirty years ago, and now holds title to more than 400,000 acres of land in Kern County. In addition to these large holdings, which consist mainly of stock ranches, hay and grain fields, and orange groves, the company also owns and controls the water supply for irrigation purposes in the Kern River; it owns the street railways, electric light, water and gas works of Bakersfield, numerous warehouses in that city, two banks, an oil refinery, a sandstone and brick manufacturing establishment, planning mill, blacksmith, plumbing, paint and machine shops, flouring mill, livery stable, wood yards, and many houses for rent in the city. Six miles from Bakersfield, on Bellevue ranch, the company has established large packing houses, while near town it maintains an athletic park. Last, but not least, this corporation owns the Armory hall in Bakersfield, where a flourishing militia company is kept in trim for possible conflicts with the wage slaves of that section. General Superintendent Jastrow of the Kern County Land Company, for twelve years has also held the office of county supervisor of Kern County, while another company official named Minser is city trustee of Bakersfield. Mayor McDonald, of Bakersfield, is also connected in some way with the Kern County Land Company, and among various holdings in the mayor's name are practically all the houses of prostitution in the city, from which he is said to derive a net revenue of \$100 per day. Bakersfield's chief executive is also agent for the Wieland Brewery Company, of San Francisco, and, so I was informed, derives further income from the sale of tickets in a Mexican lottery.

An incident in connection with the Kern County Land Company's control of the water supply for irrigating purposes, is worth relating. Twelve years ago the company induced about five hundred immigrants from England to come to Kern County selling them irrigated land at from \$50 to \$75 per acre, on "easy payments." In due time the corporation shut off the water on the plea of "scarcity," the land dried up, the settlers were unable to continue payments on their ranches, and these latter, plus improvements, reverted to their original owners—the company.

As to the condition of ranch hands and other wage slaves working for this corporation—that condition is little better than peonage. Hours of toil are excessive and wages low, averaging a dollar a day and board for unskilled workers. Throughout the Sacramento

and San Joaquin valleys similar conditions prevail everywhere among tenants and farm laborers. The middle class is vanishing in California; the working class through concentration of land and capital is being brought face to face with its only enemy, the capitalist class.

Revolutionary Socialism and Industrial Unionism find many eager listeners throughout that section of California. I left Fresno with a local of the Industrial Workers of the World in process of formation, which was subsequently organized with about twenty charter members; while at Bakersfield I had no trouble in one week's time to form an Industrial Workers of the World local with twenty-two members. Most of the men composing these two locals are Socialist party members who have worked themselves free of the illusion that a political party is sufficient to emancipate our class from wage slavery.

Southern California is a land of tourists, both of those tourists who ride overhead in the Pullmans, and those who ride underneath on the "bumpers." The latter are for the most part made short shift of by the municipal authorities—either ordered out of town or, under the "thirty days rule," set to work improving the streets and highways. For, be it remembered, the cities and towns of Southern California must always present a "respectable appearance" to the hordes of lily-fingered parasites who swarm into that region to pass their winters in the "most equable climate in the world."

Los Angeles is essentially a city of residences. Her beautiful palaces, trim little cottages, surrounded by beautiful flowers and shrubbery, her magnificent hotels, and public parks, impress one at first with the thought that here at last is an oasis in the capitalist desert. But alas! closer inspection discovers the illusion. "Our" city of "the angels" also has her slums; her army of unemployed; her social contras. The class struggle rages there as elsewhere, with all its characteristic manifestations.

Section Los Angeles, Socialist Labor Party, and Local 12, I. W. W., have more than the usual quota of freak organizations and ideas to combat. The reformer is in his glory in Los Angeles. His name is legion and his following by no means inconsiderable. Also the pure and simple unions, especially those of the building trades, are in better condition in Los Angeles than in most cities of the west. Nevertheless, the Socialist Labor Party and Industrial Workers of the World are making headway with the working class of that city and the two above-named organizations, as well as Local 24, of the Transportation Department, are on a solid basis.

South of Los Angeles, the principal cities I visited were San Pedro, San Diego, and Riverside. At the first-named place I found a small Socialist Labor Party section and a local of the Industrial Workers of the World, with evidence of lots of work having been done by comrades down there. One member of Section San Pedro deserves particular mention. This comrade keeps on hand a large supply of revolutionary literature and never misses an opportunity, when a vessel comes into harbor, to interview the sailors and supply them with some of this literature. It is needless to say that this work has made a decided impression upon the seamen, 'longshoremen and lumber handlers of San Pedro, as I could readily see by the large crowds and the interest manifested at street meetings.

San Diego has a good sized Industrial Workers of the World local organized a short time before my arrival there. Among its members are quite a number of carpenters, who are also members of the pure and simple carpenters' union. Every officer of the A. F. of L. organization is a member of the Industrial Workers of the World and one of them told me that in the event of an order coming from the International Carpenters' and Joiners' organization to expel all Industrial Workers of the World men, it would result in breaking up the pure and simple union.

Thus the Industrial Workers of the World spirit is developing all along the line in California. Comrades here and there, isolated from their fellow comrades, surrounded oftentimes by apathy and indifference, are nevertheless performing the Hercules labor of spreading enlightenment among the rank and file of the working class in their communities, and are digging deep into their pockets to supply the sinews of war for the widespread work of agitation and organization.

Riverside is near the center of the orange belt of California. There are a number of large and small orange packing establishments in that city, employing mainly women and girls. The oranges are packed by hand, the sorting and sizing being done previously by machinery. It is all piece work, and packers are paid at the rate of four cents per box, which keeps them hustling to make living wages. A box-making machine is a recent labor-displacing device that turns out complete orange boxes at the rate of five a minute or 3,000 in a day

The Industrial Worker

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ATTENTION, ST. LOUIS.

Grand labor demonstration and protest meeting against the kidnapping arrest of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners. Wm. Richard Fox, of Cincinnati, formerly national organizer of Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union, also Philip Veal and others will speak, Sunday, May 6, 2.30 p. m., at Druid's Hall, corner Ninth and Market streets.

All workmen and women are invited to attend.
Admission free.

CHANGE IN DATE OF MEETING.

Beginning with the month of May, Section Allegheny County, the Socialist Labor Party, will meet on every second and fourth Sunday of each month. Delegates will please take notice.

D. E. Gilchrist, Organizer.

BOSTON MOYER-HAYWOOD MEETING.

A big Moyer-Haywood protest meeting will be held Sunday, May 6, at 7.30 P. M., at Paine Memorial Building, 9 Appleton street, Boston, under the auspices of the I. W. W. All are invited to attend. Come and aid in making a mighty protest!

The Committee.

ATTENTION, LOUISVILLE.

All friends of the S. L. P., and members of Section Louisville are urged to be present at the business meeting of Section on Saturday evening, May 5, as matters of importance are to be considered and acted upon. Bring your friends and come early, as the meeting will be called to order at 8 o'clock sharp.

J. H. Arnold, Organizer.

MOYER-HAYWOOD DEFENSE

J. O'Brien, Lonsdale, R. I.	.25
Wall Room, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.50
E. Geipel, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Collected at mass demonstration meeting held Sunday, March 25, under auspices of Section Boston, Mass., S. L. P.	26.00
L. Orange, City	5.00
F. O'Neil, Pomona, Cal.	1.00
L. Van Vliet, Pomona, Cal.	1.00
G. Scheer, Danbury, Conn.	2.00
Cockroach, Toronto, Ont.	1.00
F. Schwartz, City	.25
Mrs. G. Papper, City	.25
J. Plomondon, City	.50
F. Linden, Providence, R. I.	1.00
F. Elkins, Vancouver, B. C.	1.00
W. McCormick, Fresno, Cal.	1.00
A. E. Saltenberger, Chico, Cal.	1.00
T. D., N. Y. City	1.00
A. Alstrom, Pomona, Cal.	2.50
S. Bevilacqua, Roslyn, Wash.	8.00
H. McDonogh, Winnipeg, Man.	1.00
Mrs. Fisher, Newark, N. J.	.50
N. Gregory, Texarkana, Ark.	1.50
L. Meinecke, New York City	1.00
T. Anderson, Coeur d'Alene, Ida.	1.00
M. Fuller, Sherburne, N. Y.	.25
G. Nickerson, Minneapolis, Minn.	2.00
N. Olson, Toledo, Ohio	.50
J. Devore, Montrose, Colo.	.50
C. Christensen, So. Norwalk, Ct.	.50
E. Singewald, So. Norwalk, Ct.	.50
K. Lukarch, So. Norwalk, Ct.	.25
J. S. L. P.	\$4.00
Member, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
H. Warlett, Newark, N. J.	2.00
J. Nell, Lowell, Ariz.	3.00
F. Leiss, Br. 3, Kings County S. L. P.	1.00
A. Anderson, Br. 3, Kings County S. L. P.	1.00
A. Klein, Branch 3, Kings County S. L. P.	2.00
A. Friedrichs, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
G. Mayer, Buffalo, N. Y.	2.00
J. Arnold, Louisville, Ky.	6.05
Collected at the Copper King Mine, Cal., K. Miller, \$2, T. Ciranagna, \$2, J. Golt, \$2, R. Tomas, \$1, M. Ashbrook, \$1, H. Jackett, \$1, S. Frazer, \$1, J. Gibbons, \$25	10.25
G. Spettel, St. Paul, Minn.	\$ 2.75
C. Sahn, W. Lynn, Mass.	.50
H. Klein, City	.50
J. Tunnel, Seattle, Wash.	1.00
E. Shellin, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
G. Sterfy, Pawtucket, R. I.	.25
S. Thompson, City	1.00
J. Zimmer, W. New Brighton, N. Y.	2.00
J. Saeppli, Allentown, Pa.	3.50
H. Gray, Yonkers, N. Y.	2.00
A. Myer, Newark, N. J.	.50
O. Lundquist, Newark, N. J.	.25
M. Koloden, Newark, N. J.	.25
A. Danielson, Newark, N. J.	.50
C. Johnson, Newark, N. J.	1.00
M. Kirchen, Newark, N. J.	.35
J. Klaus, Utica, N. Y.	.50
G. Langkauf, Utica, N. Y.	.50
J. Rapp, Utica, N. Y.	1.00
G. Billingham, City, collected in	

FOR MOYER-HAYWOOD DEFENSE FUND.

Collected at San Pedro, Cal., and sent to Wm. E. Trautmann, General Secretary-Treasurer I. W. W., Chicago, Ill.
Mass meeting, \$12.40; H. Stieglitz, \$5; Buyette, \$2.50; Wolfram, \$1.50; Siegel, \$2; P. C. Paterson, \$4.50; Alex Chullber, \$2; Total, \$26.40.

IRON CITY LABOR

A UNIT IN THE PROTEST AGAINST MOYER-HAYWOOD OUTRAGES.

P